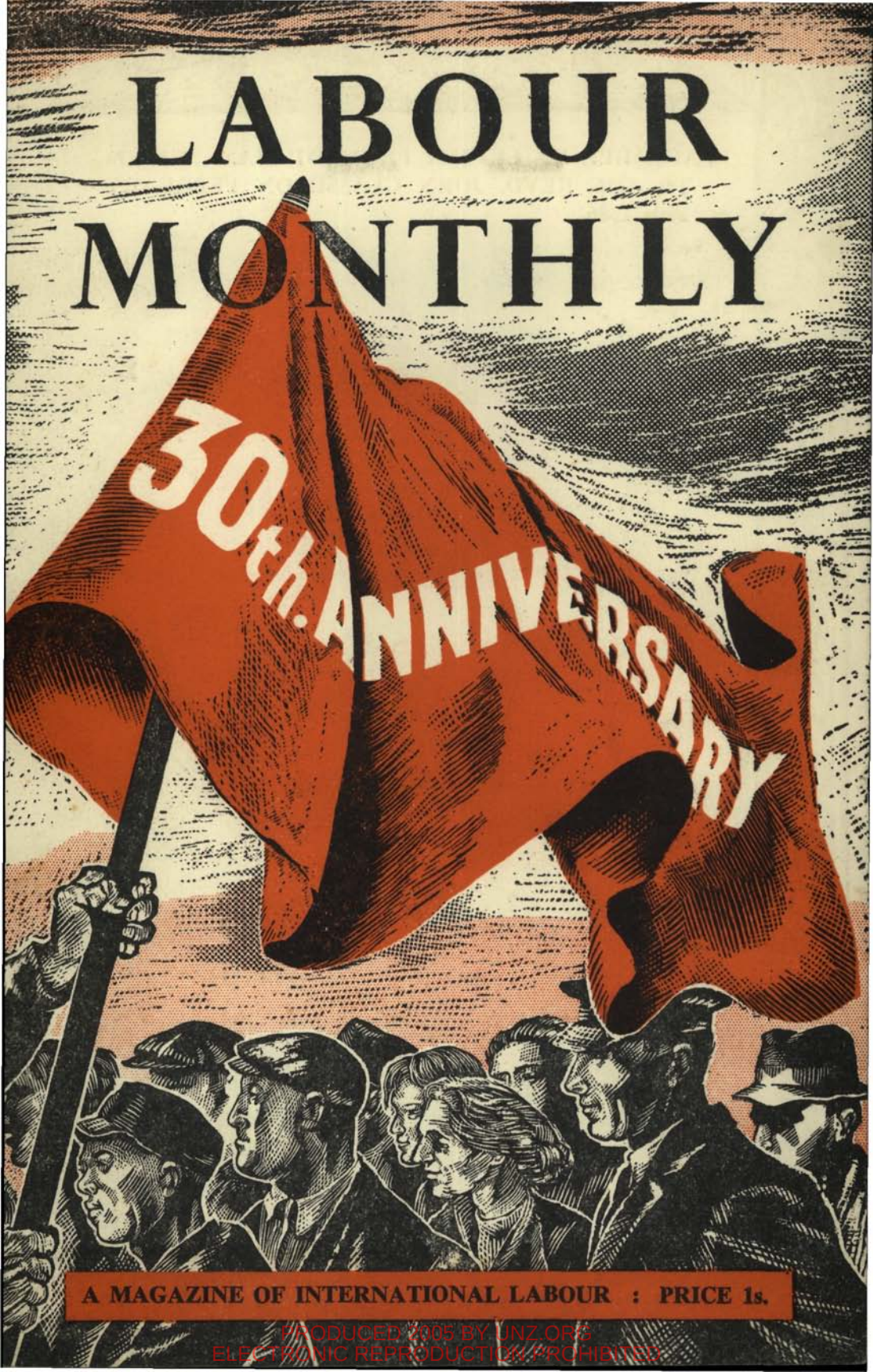
LABOUR MONTHLY



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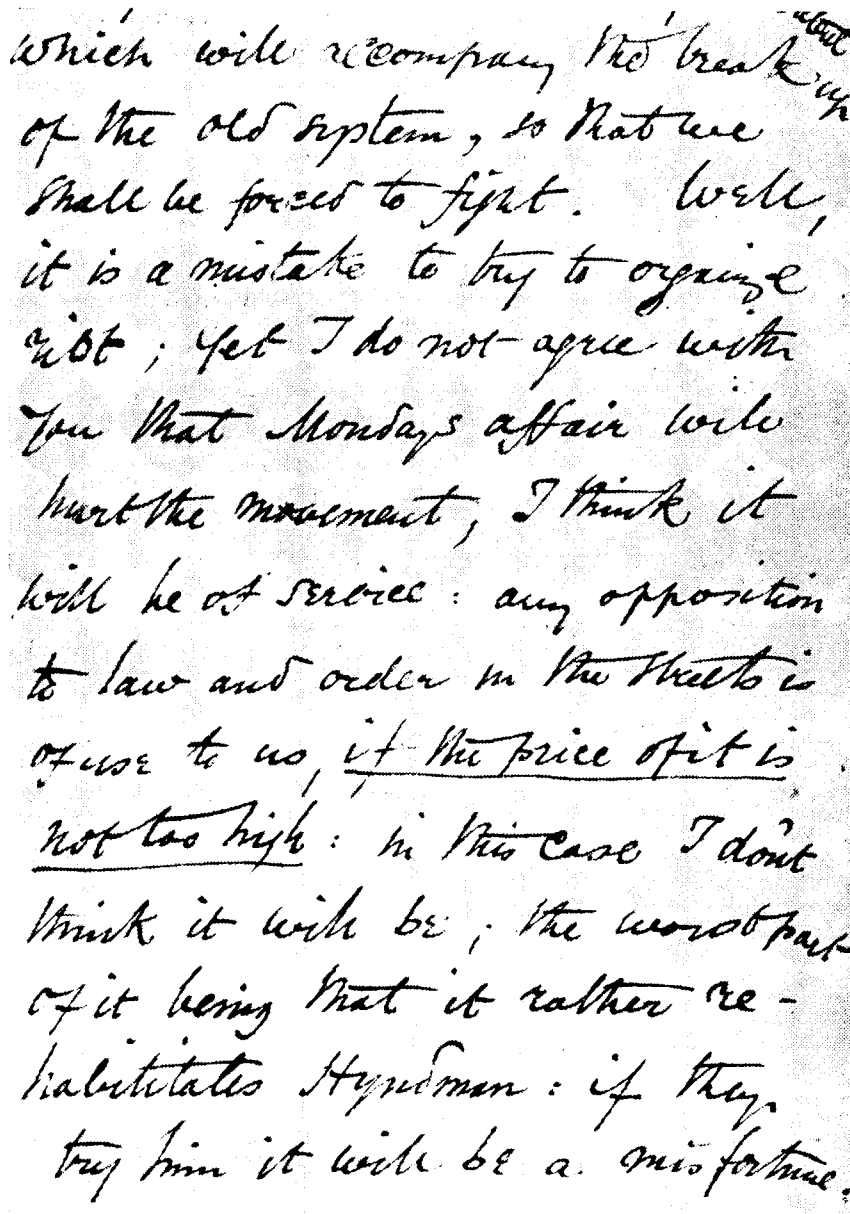
FACSIMILE OF LETTER FROM WILLIAM MORRIS TO THE REVD. JOHN GLASSE ON FEBRUARY 10th, 1886.


which will accompany the break up
of the old system, so that we
shall be forced to fight. Well,
it is a mistake to try to organize
a riot; yet I do not agree with
you that Monday's affair will
hurt the movement, I think it
will be of service: any opposition
to law and order in the streets is
of use to us, if the price of it is
not too high: in this case I don't
think it will be; the worst part
of it being that it rather re-
habilitates Hyndman: if they
try him it will be a misfortune.

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Notes of the Month

Three Decades

The English working men are the first born sons of modern industry. They will then certainly not be the last in aiding the social revolution produced by that industry, a revolution which means the emancipation of their own class all over the world, which is as universal as capitalism and wage-slavery.

I know the heroic struggles the English working class have gone through since the middle of the last century—struggles not less glorious because they are shrouded in obscurity and burked by middle class historians to revenge the misdeeds of the ruling class.

—KARL MARX on the Anniversary of the *People's Paper* of Ernest Jones.

WITH this number the *Labour Monthly* completes thirty years of uninterrupted publication, and enters on its fourth decade. In the fitful and uneasy life of labour and socialist periodicals, struggling to maintain existence on the stony soil of a hostile capitalist environment, such a duration of a militant political journal of the working

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class is a relatively rare record. In the earlier annals of the British movement, the *Northern Star,* the mighty organ of Chartism, carried the flag for fifteen years, from 1837 to 1852; its successor, the *People's Paper* of Ernest Jones, to which Marx was a regular contributor, for six years, from 1852 to 1858; the *Beehive* of George Potter for sixteen years from 1861 to 1877; the *Commonweal* of William Morris for six years, from 1885 to 1890. Long years of service were achieved in the later era by such organs as *Justice,* the *Clarion* and the old *Labour Leader.* In the international movement the famous *Neue Zeit* fulfilled its rôle as a leading organ of Marxism for thirty-one years, from 1883 to the outbreak of the first world war, followed by nine years of Kautskyan degeneration before its demise. We salute the contemporary leading periodicals of Marxist thought and politics: in the forefront, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* and the *Bolshevik,* from whose Editorial Boards we are proud to print messages of greetings, together with greetings from many other honoured friends in Britain and abroad. We feel that the fact that our readers have kept our journal alive for thirty years by their support, in the face of all obstacles, and without any of the subsidies or veiled subsidies through advertisements of the monopolists which alone maintain the capitalist press in existence, is sufficient evidence, which even a capitalist economist can understand—the harsh test of paying our way—that our journal is felt by our readers to serve a useful purpose. We shall continue to endeavour to serve that purpose, and to maintain loyalty to the cause of democracy and peace, of working class unity and international brotherhood, and of the victory of the working class and socialism in Britain and throughout the world.

Three Decades

From 1921 to 1951, or nearly one-third of a century, would represent a considerable period in any historical era. But in the modern era it has seen changes without equal: humanity marching forward in seven-league boots; the glorious advance of liberation and socialism throughout the world; the first, firm steps of the greatest transformation in the human record, the transformation of the foundations of society from the old class order towards the future classless society of communism. This change is no easy rose-strewn path. Every step forward has been won not without travail; light and shade; agony and triumph; but through it all the march goes forward at an accelerating pace; the army of liberation swells

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its ranks; every decade sees new ground won for ever. These three decades have *proved* the character of our epoch. Three decades have demonstrated Marxism in practice. They have shattered, exposed and shrivelled every opposing theory to the present self-confessed impotence, pessimism, nihilism and hatred of life, in which the final argument of the dying civilisation has become the atom bomb. They have confirmed with a wealth of living experience the inescapable, urgent necessity and inevitable triumph of that social transformation through which we are living and to which we can all contribute. They have illuminated the true meaning of that historical necessity of our epoch, whose laws Marxism first laid bare, which is no contradiction of the human will, but which is on the contrary realised through hundreds of millions of human wills, their courage, sacrifice and determination to end the old foul order of class dominion and colonial oppression, exploitation and poverty, barbarism and war, and to build in its place the new society based on human brotherhood and co-operation.

Memories of 1921

In July, 1921, when our journal first saw the light, the Soviet Union was in its fourth year, still completing the victory over the wars of intervention. Lenin was guiding the deliberations of the Third Congress of the Communist International, then two years old. The Communist Party in Britain was eleven months old. Lloyd George ruled Britain, not yet overthrown by his Tory coupon majority. The Bloc National controlled France through the mouthpiece of a Briand, before the advent of Poincaré. In the United States Warren Harding presided over the saturnalia of corruption in the name of ' normalcy '. Gandhi had just entered on leadership of the Indian National Congress and was proclaiming his programme of non-violent non-co-operation to win Swaraj within one year. Sun Yat-sen had just been elected President of the Chinese People's Republic by the old Parliament sitting in Canton. The Parliamentary Labour Party, with barely three score seats, was led by J. R. Clynes. The trade union movement was in a ferment, following the blow of Black Friday. The first number of the *Labour Monthly* contained articles of G. D. H. Cole on Black Friday, of Lenin on The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax, of Barbusse on France, and of Leonard Woolf on Economic Imperialism. And the Editor, who thus early began to set forth his views in these Notes, as if the knowledge of all the affairs of the world

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were at his command, as is the way of editors, had reached the mature age of twenty-five years.

Battle of the Old and the New in Britain

By 1921 the shape of the modern world had been already revealed in its main outlines. Capitalism was mortally stricken, never to revert to the old pre-1914 degree of already precarious stability and imagined permanence. The socialist world had come into being, thenceforth to advance from strength to strength. The working class was in ferment in every continent. The colonial world was rising in revolt. Britain, the original cradle of capitalism, the old classic seat of capitalist supremacy, had now become the racked nerve-centre of all the contradictions of its decay. British imperialism, economically and politically enfeebled by the war beneath all the hollow pæans of victory, outstripped and compelled to yield supremacy to its advancing American rival, faced with the revolt of its hundreds of millions of colonial slaves over one quarter of the world, and with the militant unrest of its working class at home, had already by 1921 entered into that chronic crisis of prolonged mass unemployment which continued unbroken, under Tory and Labour Governments alike, for two decades, and was only interrupted by the deeper shock of the Second World War, followed by the present feverish rearmament economy of scarcity and inflation in preparation for a third world war. The signals had sounded for decisive economic, social and political change in Britain. The task opened out before the working class to challenge and end capitalist rule, and take over the leadership of Britain. The titanic stirring in the ranks of the workers during those early stormy years after the First World War revealed the instinctive response of the working class. But the old entrenched habit-encrusted institutions, traditions, leadership and forms of organisation, the limitations and sectionalism, the prejudices and narrow horizons, inherited from the preceding era, still cumbered the ground, clogged and stifled the militancy of the workers, or spilled it in vain, as in the general strike. A long and painful path of experience, during which other countries with younger movements shot in front, had to be trodden, and is still being trodden, before readiness for the task is reached.

Foundation of Our Journal

It was in this opening phase of the battle of the old and the new in Britain that the *Labour Monthly* was founded as an organ

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in the fight. From the outset our journal set itself the objective to reflect and interpret the new conditions and currents, equally of the world situation and the international working-class movement, and of the situation in Britain and the British movement in this wider context, to grapple with the new problems, and to seek to find the path to the fulfilment of the new tasks. From the first number we adopted the at once modest and presumptuous sub-title of 'A Magazine of International Labour', which we have continuously carried and still carry today: modest, because we considered it our humble duty, as we explained in the first number, to fill a gap in the ranks of then existing magazines by seeking to 'report and explain to British workers the developments of the Labour movement in other countries'; presumptuous, because we sought thereby, not only to proclaim our faith in the international character of the working class movement and socialism, but deliberately to open battle to break down the barriers of insularity and provincialism which had cut off so many of the older trends of socialist thought and opinion in Britain from the rich treasurehouse of the thought and experience of the international movement, and because we were profoundly convinced that a new world situation had opened since 1917, in the light of which the new problems in Britain would require to be solved.

An Organ of the United Front

From the outset our journal has invited and valued the participation of a very broad range of representative contributors, by no means all of uniform outlook, in relation to this general objective. During the first five years our contributors included representatives of such varied Labour Party schools of thought, often far removed from a Marxist outlook, as H. N. Brailsford, George Lansbury, G. D. H. Cole, Gerald Gould, Phillips Price and Bernard Shaw, or prominent trade union leaders such as Walter Citrine, Jack Tanner, Herbert Smith, Robert Williams, George Hicks, A. A. Purcell, John Bromley, A. J. Cook, and Will Lawther. During the past five years we have printed contributions from some twenty Labour Members of Parliament, from the Liberal leader, Clement Davies, from trade union leaders like Andrew Naesmith, or from distinguished representatives in the field of literature and the arts like Bernard Shaw (a generous helper and contributor to the last), Sybil Thorndike, James Aldridge or Agnes Smedley. Needless to say, contribution to these pages on the part of these and many other famous

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figures during these thirty years by no means implied agreement with the editorial outlook of the journal, any more than the printing of these contributions implied editorial agreement with their outlook. But we have pursued this broad policy during these thirty years, often in the face of considerable difficulties through the bans and barriers erected in the course of the sharpening battle of tendencies within the labour movement, not because we have sought to set ourselves above the battle or to pursue the hopeless mirage of an eclectic or neutral rôle in the battle of tendencies, but because we have deemed it our duty to combine the sharpest theoretical definition and discussion, frank political alignment and, if need be, polemic, with the endeavour to promote the broadest possible co-operation for militant and progressive aims and to assist the cause of working class unity. During the past decade and a half, as the area of the struggle has extended, the cause of working class unity has been closely bound up with the cause of democratic unity against fascism, and, in the present period, with the aim of co-operation of all supporters of peace against a third world war. Our journal has sought to fulfil an auxiliary rôle in the service of these aims.

Our Title

A corresponding political conception inspired the choice of our title. Our journal seeks to serve the common interests of the labour movement. As the boundaries of the struggle have fluctuated in the battle of tendencies, with consequent shifts in the alignment and association attached in popular usage to particular labels, there have not been wanting at different times critics, both from the right and from the left, who have queried the appropriateness of our title. Critics from the right have complained that we should have dared to adopt such a title (it is worth noting that our magazine was first in the field and preceded the foundation of the official 'Labour Magazine', subsequently entitled 'Labour') for an unofficial periodical which has unsparingly criticised official right-wing policies and leadership which we have judged to be contrary to the interests of the movement. Critics from the left have complained that our title must be repulsive to the best militant fighters of the working class by suggesting an appearance of alignment with those same right-wing policies and leadership which are hateful to them. But in our opinion the grand old title of Labour and the British Labour Movement is by no means the private property or monopoly of a particular sectional leadership or policy which is temporarily able

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to dominate (often by questionable means) the machinery of the mass organisations of the working class, the Trades Union Congress, Co-operative Union and Labour Party, when that same sectional policy and leadership in reality serves, in our opinion, the interests of capitalism.

Towards the Future Victory

The cause of labour has been proclaimed and marched forward through generations of history, through successive stages and changes, from the days of Chartism and early revolutionary trade unionism, through the First International, through the days of Lib.-Lab. domination, to the present stage of right wing reformist official domination; and this stage is not the end of the story. Experience will help to shatter false policies and false leadership; and the battle for such change and advance is integral to the history of the movement. The movement will assuredly advance to the path of working class victory, to the path of Marxism and Leninism, to Communist leadership of the mass labour movement. We chose the title of *Labour Monthly* in 1921, when the present right-wing régime of bans and barriers had not yet been imposed, and when Communists and right wingers still enjoyed equal constitutional rights in the Labour Party, which had been built up by the common efforts of all sections. We have not deemed it necessary to alter that title through all the vicissitudes of these thirty years, because we believe that our journal expresses the true traditions, the true interests and the true destiny of the British Labour Movement and of Socialism in Britain.

Some Guiding Conceptions

From the outset, through all the tremendous events and changes of these years, we have sought to respond to the new conditions, problems and needs arising in Britain in the period of the deepening decline and decay of British capitalism and imperialism, when history is setting new tasks for the British labour movement and the British people. As an auxiliary organ of the militant working class, we have not sought to proclaim any separate political programme or special private illumination. But we have from the outset held to certain general conceptions and set ourselves certain specific tasks:

First, to help to make understood the character of the period in which we live, as the era of the transition from capitalism to socialism, and the

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historic path of struggle through which this change is in fact taking place in the world;

Second, to lay bare the bankruptcy of British imperialism and of the traditional economic-social-political structure built on this basis;

Third, to expose the corresponding bankruptcy of the traditional reformist outlook and policies still dominating the organisations, leadership and strategy of the British labour movement;

Fourth, to show the alternative path of advance in the light of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in relation to the conditions of Britain, the British labour movement and the peoples of the British Empire;

Fifth, to fight for working class unity on the basis of a militant programme, with the indispensable leading rôle of a Marxist political party of the working class, and capable of rallying the majority of the people for victory over monopoly capitalism;

Sixth, to promote unity of the British people and the colonial peoples for the common victory over imperialism.

Marx wrote in 1870 of the British labour movement:

> The English possess all material requisites of the social revolution. But they lack the spirit of generalisation and revolutionary passion.
>
> (Marx, 'Importance and Weakness of English Labour', Confidential Circular of the General Council of the First International, 1870.)

To combine 'the spirit of generalisation' and 'revolutionary passion'—this guiding admonition of Marx in his closing years for the special need of the British labour movement we have sought to bear in mind and fulfil in the pages of this journal.

Early Voices

Errors, confusion, misconceptions and groping can be found in plenty in the array of thirty-two volumes which occupy a yard and a half of shelving. We were seeking our way; we were the child of our age and of the British labour movement; experience has had to teach many lessons, and will have to teach more. But the broad outlines of what we have presented on all the major issues of the day through these years, from Black Friday, the Gold Standard, the General Strike and Mondism, through Fascism, Munich and the war, Britain's new post-war crisis, and the records of three Labour Governments, to the Anglo-American Bloc, the Truman Doctrine and Korea, will stand up to wear and the stern test of re-reading with later knowledge better than most of the pearls of wisdom offered at the time by the statesmen and leading publicists of the ruling class and their official Labour echoes, whose utterances are most often recalled today with contemptuous derision for their blindness. In the earliest numbers foreshadowing can be found of

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issues that loom large today. If we consider the present expansion of American imperialism, already in 1921 we were devoting an article to 'American Imperialism', in 1922 to 'American Imperialism in Haiti', 'Labor Spies Inc. (Made in U.S.A.)' and 'Anglo-American Rivalry in the Argentine', and in 1923 to 'America and Europe'. Or take Fascism: by our third number, in September, 1921, we were dealing with the Italian Fascisti and the signed Treaty of Mussolini and the Italian Socialist leaders; our first study of Italian Fascism appeared in December, 1922, and of German Fascism and Nazism in January, 1923; the name of Hitler first appeared in December, 1923. In our earliest numbers the development of the movement in India, Egypt, China and Japan receive prominent attention; and in our first volume, in 1921, we were able to print a detailed study, over two articles, of Japan and the Japanese Labour Movement by T. Nosaka, then a student in London, who is today one of the leaders of the Japanese Communist Party. In September, 1922, appeared our first article from Harry Pollitt, who has been the tireless helper of our journal through all these years, and whose moving and all too generous appreciation we are proud to print this month; and in the same number also our first article from the foremost American working class leader, William Z. Foster, whose greeting we are equally proud to print on a subsequent page.

The 'Twenties

In the rising militant struggles of the twenties, culminating in the General Strike, our journal sought to play its constructive part. The General Strike proved the great political landmark of the modern labour movement, the watershed between the old and the new. In nine days the General Strike taught more of the confrontation of classes in Britain, the true character of the capitalist state and capitalist democracy, and the gigantic task and destiny of the working class than ninety years of propaganda. The General Strike revealed the ferocious panic of the ruling class before the advance of the working class; the mighty solidarity and heroic fighting strength and determination of the British working class; and the bankruptcy of the reformist leadership. Thenceforward nothing could be the same in Britain. From that day to this there has been so far no major national official strike in Britain for twenty-five years. Does that mean that the working class has slumbered a quarter of a century? On the contrary. It means that the issues have become so open, the balance so precarious, that the smallest struggle takes on from the outset a political significance, and is interpreted as a challenge to the

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régime, so that the ruling class is concerned at all costs to limit, curtail or cancel the old freedom of the right to strike. From 1927 to 1946, as D. N. Pritt shows in the current number, the Tory Trade Disputes Act passed after the General Strike curtailed the right to strike; and from 1940 to the present day, through five years of war and six peacetime years under a Labour Government, strikes have been in practice illegal, with a primarily political judgment of expediency by the authorities whether to prosecute. The working class has sought to press forward its advance in the parliamentary field, and during the past six years has maintained a Labour parliamentary majority. There, too, reformist leadership has frustrated the advance, maintained the class structure unchanged, and surrendered to reaction. Thereby the last resources of reformism, the promises of the reformist parliamentary path to socialism, are reaching exposure. The final issue of class power cannot be escaped. The ground is being cleared for the advance to a militant programme and Marxist leadership, the path of victory.

The 'Thirties

All the songs of triumph of capitalism in the Western world in the 'twenties over the defeat of the working class proved short-lived. The legends of the success of stabilisation, of the American economic miracle, of the final overcoming of Communism and the class war—the legends of the later 'twenties which our journal helped to expose—withered within a few years. That exposure was proved true in the outcome in the world economic crisis, centred in America and extending over the entire capitalist world, which accompanied the giant advance of socialist construction through the first Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union. The world economic crisis brought new social and political convulsions, and bore its grim harvest in the extension of the rule of fascism—that nemesis of reformist leadership—in Europe and the accelerating drive to war. The battlefront moved to the fight for unity against fascism and against the menace of a second world war. It reached its height in the 'thirties with the battle of Spanish Democracy and with the political fight against the policies of Munich and Chamberlain—the fatal policies of 'appeasing' (actual collaboration, connivance and practical assisting) Hitler and the Axis warlords in the name of a frenzied and suicidal anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hostility, just as the Attlees and the Churchills appease the warlords of American imperialism today in the name of the same anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hostility. The outcome was the second world war. To-

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day, with stronger forces, we can still prevent a corresponding outcome, if we act in time.

The 'Forties

But the battle of the 'thirties for unity against fascism did not prove in vain. It bore fruit in the alliance of the peoples which, after long and arduous and costly struggles and sacrifices, won final victory over fascism in 1945. That victory was made possible through the co-operation of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. Thereby that co-operation was shown to be the indispensable basis for the future maintenance of world peace. Victory over fascism brought an enormous advance of popular freedom, working class strength and confidence, extension of democracy, national liberation, and socialism, over vast areas of the world. Horrified at this advance, the rulers of the Western Powers repudiated their wartime pledges of co-operation, and sought to build a new Axis or anti-Soviet and anti-Communist military alliance of capitalism and imperialism, to resurrect and kindle anew the embers of fascism, rearm German and Japanese militarism, and tread once more the suicidal path to world war. In Britain the new impulse and forward march of the people, and the desire for basic social change, was demonstrated in the electoral victory of 1945, defeating Toryism and returning a Labour majority proclaiming aims of socialism. But the people's hopes reaped a bitter harvest. The outcome of the Labour Government under reformist leadership brought no class change or transition to building socialism, as in the countries of people's democracy. It brought instead the colossal rearmament programme, burdens and shortage at home, and surrender to the economic, political and military domination of the American monopolists and their military hierarchy. Arms are piled up on a scale never before equalled. The American offensive military bases are extended over the world. Local wars of the Western imperialist powers are pressed forward. Against this the preponderant forces of the peoples of the world for peace are gathered and mobilise their strength. Which will prevail? War or peace? This is the choice which opens out before mankind in the 'fifties.

And Now ?

Imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, as it totters to its downfall, has reached a point today when its own financial experts declare openly that it can only seek to sustain its economy and utilise the gigantic productive forces of modern technique through the

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ceaselessly renewed and intensified feverish drive to rearmament and war. Thereby the battle for peace has become the front line of the battle of the working class and the peoples against the rulers of monopoly capitalism. All the resources of science and technique in the capitalist world are turned to the elaboration of ever more horrifying weapons of mass destruction and devastation. Their public leaders openly dream and boast, no longer in the privacy of council chambers and staff headquarters, but on the platform, in senatorial committees, over the radio and in their press, their ghoulish insane ambitions, to exterminate millions at a stroke, to wipe out cities, to spread disease and plague, to kill for ever what they now term the illusion of human progress. Such is the 'last word' of modern capitalism. On the side of socialism and socialist construction is now ranged the whole cause of civilisation and decency, of science and culture, of the future of humanity. Who can doubt which will prevail in the end? Our concern must be that the cause of humanity will prevail, not across the bloodstained ruins of a third world war, but through the victory of peace over war, with all the immeasurable and immediate advance which that victory will make possible. The atom bomb is proclaimed the last word of capitalism. But the atom bomb is not the last word. In the pregnant saying of Mao Tse-tung:

> **The birth of the atom bomb marks the beginning of the end of the American imperialists. For they based their calculations on the bomb and not on the people.**
>
> **In the end of ends it is not the bomb that will destroy the people, but the people who will destroy the bomb.**

With the deep confidence which those words express we go forward to the trials and testing of the 'fifties and the mighty changes which they will assuredly bring in the advance of humanity.

June 12, 1951. R.P.D.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

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THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

THE story of the right to strike in this country, of the series of successes gained in building it up, and of the counter-attacks delivered by employers and by their state machinery the moment the general economic situation favoured them, provides for the student of politics an almost classic lesson of the need for the working-class to win and hold its victories by its own combined efforts.

What is the 'right to strike'? In essence, it is the right of workers, in combination, to withdraw their labour, or to refuse to work, in order by their combined action to exert pressure on their employers to protect or improve their wages or conditions of labour. Like so many 'legal rights' in this country, it consists not in any formal provision of the law but in the fact that in the eye of the law anything not specifically prohibited is lawful.

The history of the to and fro battle to establish and maintain the right to strike can be seen in three or four stages. The first may be thought of as the use by employers and governments of the weapons of both the criminal law (the law which punishes those who do what the ruling class does not want them to do) and the civil law (the law which gives to those affected by activities of which the ruling class disapproves the right to recover money-damages from those who pursue such activities) to prevent workers from striking on the ground of alleged illegality. The grounds most commonly invoked are conspiracy (taking sometimes the form of combinations in restraint of trade), breaches of contract, 'besetting', and similar actions. The next stage is the exercise of working-class pressure to secure the repeal or modification of the legal provisions which enabled the employers to operate the first stage. (Note that in this field what the working-class has to fight for is legislation. In some fields of the struggle legislation is unnecessary and it is enough to bring pressure on employers to make—and keep—agreements with the workers; but here the law is used against the workers, and so they must fight to alter the law. Their victories thus seem to be won in Parliament; but in reality they are won by pressure in the wider field.) The third stage is of the nature of counter-attack. The employers fight back, either to gain new weapons by further legislation, or to get the Courts to interpret the altered laws in such a way as to make them more effective weapons than they were. And

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the fourth stage is and must be further working-class pressure for more legislation to help in their fight.

Striking is a hard and desperate measure. Workers depend on their weekly wages to keep alive from week to week and are never far from a bare margin of existence. If they strike, they renounce their weekly wages, at the price of hardship to their wives and children as well as to themselves, and receive instead 'strike-pay' from union or strike funds which they and their fellows have accumulated; and of course they exhaust any savings they may have. The stock middle-class picture of workers striking lightheartedly, out of some kind of anti-social malice, is as false as most middle-class pictures of industry, and is paralleled by the common assumption, dear not only to the middle-class but to too many of the present Labour Party leaders, that strikes are always 'the fault' of the strikers and not of the employers against whom they strike. But the strike, however hard it may be, is an essential weapon, and one of the most important of all the weapons, of the industrial worker. Its importance is not to be measured by the frequency of its use; like the power to make war, its mere existence achieves its purpose hundreds of times when it is not actually invoked. To deprive workers of the right to strike, and thus both of their main effective retort to unjust treatment and of the principal bargaining weapon of their unions, is to deal them as grave a blow as would be dealt to a progressive people by disarming it in the presence of powerful and aggressive neighbours.

The history of the right to strike is an integral part of the history of the working-class and Trade Union movement, and went through the same defeats and victories, but it can be briefly stated without going through general Trade Union history. One need not go further back than to the Trade Union Act of 1871, passed on June 29, 1871, being Chapter 31 of the Statutes for that year. This Act went a long way to legalise Trade Unions, relieving them of many of the legal disabilities that had previously affected them; but on the same day, as Chapter 32 of the same Statutes, Parliament passed an 'Act to amend the Criminal Law relating to violence, threats and intimidation', which made it a criminal offence to use violence, threats, intimidation, molestation, obstruction, or similar measures, with a view to coercing workmen or employers; and in times of strike the magistrates could be relied upon to interpret the mildest forms of persuasion and picketing as falling within these definitions. The right to strike was thus, whilst apparently legiti-

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mised to a substantial extent by Chapter 31, gravely hampered in practice by Chapter 32, by the virtual outlawry of all the subsidiary activities that are necessary to make effective either the declaration or the maintenance of a strike, in which of necessity many workmen of very varied degrees of political development and outlook take part. Briefly put, Chapter 31 made most strikes lawful, and Chapter 32 made most actions undertaken in support of them unlawful. The Courts soon made strong use of Chapter 32 (even before 1871 was out seven women went to prison for saying 'Bah!' to a blackleg); and an agitation, headed by the London Trades Council, was carried on for the repeal of Chapter 32, a result eventually achieved by the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, 1875, which improved the position both generally as to Trade Unions and particularly as to the effective operation of the right to strike, without of course being either very clear or very satisfactory in its terms. One of the bad points of this Act was to make it a criminal offence for workers employed in the public supply of gas and water (extended to electricity by the Electricity (Supply) Act, 1919) to break their contracts if they know that the probable consequences will be a shortage of the supply of gas or water; (and it did not attach any penalty to those who drove them to strike, of course.)

The next blow in the struggle came from the Courts, this time in civil actions. Civil actions sound less serious than criminal proceedings, but are in fact exceedingly formidable, for awards of damages in civil cases against individual workers, or even the possibility of such awards, will deter all but the stoutest of them from action, while the Trade Unions themselves can not merely be crippled through civil proceedings by their funds being taken in heavy damages and costs, but can also be restrained by injunction from carrying on any activities connected with strikes which could be ruled to be unlawful.

The new blow came in the famous 'Taff Vale' case (Taff Vale Railway Co. v. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, House of Lords, July 22, 1901). In this case the Railway Company sued an important railwaymen's union (now merged in the National Union of Railwaymen) which had organised a strike, for damages for civil conspiracy. The conspiracy took the form of a combination in restraint of trade; in the eye of the law, any combination to raise or keep up wages is unlawful as being 'in restraint of trade', that is, of the right of a man to sell his labour as cheaply as

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his employer wishes. The Courts held that there was nothing in any Act of Parliament to prevent such an action being brought, and that the Union, as a Union, could be sued for damages. This decision startled many lawyers, who had thought that Unions had been made immune from legal proceedings against their corporate funds; but as a decision of the House of Lords it was the law of the land. It meant that henceforward, in the case of a strike of union members, any employer or group of employers could bring an action against the union and probably mulct it in heavy damages. The effect of the decision was to paralyse trade union activity, and during the next few years the employers took full advantage of this situation. Wages were lowered and the trade unions were unable to declare strikes in defence. In commenting on the decision a few months after it was given, the Webbs (one of whom was, like many people famous in other fields, a barrister), wrote of that law's 'liability to be used as a means of oppression. This danger is increased, and the grievance aggravated', they wrote, 'by the dislike of Trade Unionism and strikes which nearly all judges and juries share with the rest of the upper and middle classes'. They added:

> A clear majority of our Judges evidently believe, quite honestly, that Trade Unionism—meaning the enforcement of Common Rules on a whole trade—is anomalous, objectionable, detrimental to English industry, and even a wicked infringement of individual liberty, which Parliament has been foolishly persuaded to take out of the category of crimes. Their lack of economic training and their ignorance of economic science is responsible for this state of mind.*

The Taff Vale Judgment had, however, another effect, which was certainly not expected by those who uttered it. The trade unions, alarmed by the decision, and anxious to have it reversed by Parliament, which alone could undo the mischief, thronged into the recently founded Labour Party. The fight for the political representation of Labour was anyhow gathering strength at the time, and the moment was opportune. The Party grew rapidly and, instead of returning two Members as in the 1900 Election, returned 29 in 1906. In addition Liberal candidates throughout the country, and a few Tories, gave most explicit pledges at the General Election that they would press for a new law that would overturn the Taff Vale Judgment. Yielding to this pressure from the Trade Union movement, the Liberal Government introduced and passed through Parliament the Trade Disputes Act of 1906, a short Act whose con-

* 'Industrial Democracy'. Introduction to 1902 edition.

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tents should be known to every active trade unionist. This Act makes three main provisions which are helpful to the right to strike. Firstly, it lays down that no action whatever can be brought against a trade union 'in respect of any tortious act' (i.e., civil wrong, including civilly actionable conspiracy) 'alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the union'. Secondly, it provides that an act done 'in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute' is not to be actionable merely because it induces a breach of contract, or interferes with somebody's trade, business or employment, or with their right to dispose of their capital or labour as they will. Thirdly, it legalises peaceful picketing, i.e., attending for the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information, or of peacefully persuading people to work or not to work, if these things are done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute. The first of these three provisions got rid of the Taff Vale Judgment, and left Unions free to organise and conduct strikes without being rendered liable in damages. The second provision got rid of a great deal of the weapons used to establish civil—and sometimes criminal—liability on individuals who strike or take part in the conduct of strikes. The third provision put an end to much of the arsenal of minor measures thitherto available to the Courts for the frustration of effective strike activity.

The Act was not perfect, but it was and is rightly regarded—together with the Act of 1875—as constituting the main guarantee of Trade Union rights, including the right to strike, in this country. Its main imperfections were two. The first and less important was that it left untouched the provision in the 1875 Act, noted above, in relation to gas and water (and electricity) workers, who can still be prosecuted under that Act. The second and more general is that the protection given by the new Act to those inducing breaches of contract, or interfering with trade business or employment, or peacefully picketing, is limited to acts done in contemplation or furtherance of a 'trade dispute' as defined in the Act, i.e., a dispute between employers and workmen or between workmen and workmen, connected with employment, non-employment, terms of employment, or conditions of labour. This covers some types of strikes well enough, but strikes are of many kinds, and Courts are often astute to conclude that any particular dispute, in contemplation or furtherance of which a strike is called, does not fall within the definition.

Thus no one should suppose that the victory of 1906 made further vigilance to safeguard the right to strike unnecessary. An illustra-

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tion, not unimportant in itself, of the reality of the dangers inherent in the limitation to trade disputes is to be found in the prosecution —known to the flippant as the daft Hartley act—of a number of dock-workers in April of this year. The prosecution was based primarily on a charge of striking in connection with trade disputes in contravention of ' Order 1305 ', the Order discussed below; but as it seemed likely that the dispute involved did not fall within the definition of a trade dispute a second charge was added on the basis that if the strikers were not acting in connection with a trade dispute then, while they were not offending against 1305, they were not protected by the Acts of 1875 and 1906 and were therefore guilty. That this was the deliberate attitude taken up by the Labour Government to the working-class which had hopefully put it into power was clearly shown by the then Attorney-General, Sir Hartley Shawcross, in the observations he made when announcing in the Central Criminal Court that he had to drop the case. As reported in *The Times* of April 19, 1951, he said that

> he wished it to be clearly understood that, while strikes in connection with trade disputes . . . were within Order 1305, strikes not in connection with trade disputes were not protected by the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act (1875) and the Trade Disputes Act (1906). Those were Acts which were intended to ensure the right to strike in connection with a trade dispute. If there were no trade dispute a strike calculated to cause a breach of contract, or interfere with the course of justice, or interfere or affect the policy of the State, or affect the interests of the State, might constitute a grave criminal offence.

Coming back to the chronological narrative, the next substantial blow came in 1909, when Trade Unions were turning more and more to political action, and giving financial support to candidates and to Members of Parliament (who were not then paid by the State). It came not from the legislature but from the Courts, who in the notorious 'Osborne Case' decided that Unions could not lawfully collect or administer funds for political purposes. This blow was reversed by Parliament in 1913.

There came then the first World War. The right to strike was abrogated (except for a very small part of the field of production) by a regulation made under the Munitions of War Act, 1915, which also prevented workmen from leaving their master's employment without a leaving certificate, and set up special tribunals to fine or imprison workers charged with disobeying masters. Strikes nevertheless occurred on a vast scale, especially after 1917. Sometimes strikers were prosecuted, sometimes the Government thought better

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of it. The terms of the regulation prohibiting strikes were similar to those of '1305' on such points as the stipulation about 21 days' notice, but, unlike 1305, that regulation was repealed within a week or two of the Armistice of November 1918. Then, in the period of capitalist crises after the First World War, the Emergency Powers Act, 1920, gave to the government one of its greatest 'police-state' weapons against the workers. It is a very wide Act, which can be used against almost anybody and anything; but it was primarily aimed at the possibility of great strikes, although the right to strike is theoretically safeguarded by a proviso. The Act empowers the government in any emergency, of the existence and scope of which it is the sole judge, to 'proclaim' the emergency and thereafter to rule by decree. It would clearly enable the government to put all workers into the same category as gas-workers, and to make it an offence for them to break a contract of service if thereby the supply of anything said to be essential was hindered. And very little lawyers' ingenuity would be required to devise valid regulations which would place even more serious obstacles in the way of strikes, particularly in the light of the attitude which the magistrates and judges would be sure to take in a period of declared emergency. (It is ironical to recall that the Labour Party in Parliament, destined three decades later to use this Act lightheartedly and for almost trivial reasons against strikers, fought the bill strenuously when the 'hard-faced Parliament' of the day was passing it.)

The next stage of the struggle was the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1927, passed by the Tory government after its victory in the General Strike of 1926. This Act took away from the workers everything the government dared to take, and in particular it made strikes illegal if they had any object other than or in addition to a trade dispute within the trade or industry in which the workers were engaged and were designed or calculated to coerce the Government or the community. It expressly protected any person refusing to strike against expulsion or other penalty within the Trade Union movement. It also extended the illegality of 'watching and besetting' far beyond the 1875 Act; and it prohibited Civil Servants from being members of any Trade Union save unions not affiliated to the Trades Union Congress. This Act is not now directly important, as it was repealed by the short and simple Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act, 1946, put upon the parliamentary agenda by a long and well-supported campaign

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of the Labour movement; but a similar Act is still in force in Northern Ireland.

The next point for study, and the most important, is the virtual abrogation of the right to strike during the Second World War, and the continuance of that abrogation until the present day. The Regulation which effected this (the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order, S.R. & O. 1940, No. 1305, commonly called 1305) is still in force. It was made on the 18th July, 1940, and the then Minister of Labour, the late Mr. Ernest Bevin, promised at the time that it would be repealed when the war ended. This virtual destruction of the whole substance of the hard-won and vitally important right to strike, carried right through the six pregnant post-war years, represents a temporary victory of some magnitude for the anti-working-class forces.

Like so much British legislation, 1305 does not provide in simple words: 'Thou shalt not strike'. It achieves the same result in many words, with an air of sweet reasonableness. It provides that it shall be a crime punishable by fine or imprisonment up to six months for any person to take any part in a strike in connexion with any trade dispute, *unless* the dispute has been reported to the Minister of Labour *and* 21 days have elapsed since the report, *and* the dispute has not during that time been referred for settlement or arbitration. There is no compulsion to report a dispute, either existing or apprehended, but such report is a necessary pre-requisite to exercising the right to strike; and a little reflection shows that, once the report is made, it is possible for the Minister to hold up the strike by making a reference to arbitration.

Clearly, there can never be a strike until three weeks have gone by, and virtually any strike where workers are engaged in a short term job is impracticable; and *any* strike can be held up by the Minister. And, so long as 1305 remains in force, the position both of Unions and of individuals in connexion with any strike is highly dangerous unless three conditions are fulfilled, viz.: (1) that notice has been given, (2) that 21 days have elapsed after the notice; and (3) that the Minister has failed to take action. While, as we have seen, a Trade Union is normally protected by the Acts of 1875 and 1906 from any criminal prosecution or civil claim arising out of a trade dispute, the protection against the charge of criminal conspiracy is now only available so long as the act done by the Union would not have been a crime if committed by a single individual. In other words, if a strike takes place contrary to 1305, each

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individual concerned is guilty of a criminal offence; and if the Union, as a Union, encouraged or incited or ordered such a strike, its officers and probably the Union itself would be indictable for criminal conspiracy, the penalty for which is unlimited. Worse still, if the strike were not in connexion with a trade dispute, individuals who are only incidentally involved may be liable, certainly in damages if not at criminal law, for acts which merely induce or procure or encourage or incite the breach of a contract of service, or cause damage to the employers. And picketing would only be lawful if it were done in relation to a trade dispute, and then only so long as the magistrates thought it 'peaceful'. This Order represents in effect a virtual suspension of the right to strike, effective continuously since 1940; it puts us back in some respects the best part of a century. It means, among other things, that in the 45 years that have passed since the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, there have been only the brief period of seven years before the first World War and the two years after it, or nine years in all, in which the full vigour of that Act has not been modified by other legislation.

There are two outstanding lessons to be gained from this short history. The first, which we should all have learnt by now but are only too apt to forget, is that the working-class must incessantly be on its guard lest the fruits of its victories be stolen away from it. The second, more specifically, is that 1305 must be repealed.* To repeal it, we must fight the reactionary elements in the Government and the ruling class; and there are many signs that the pressure already exercised is forcing those elements to weaken. But such moments call for more and not less vigilance, lest they seize on any relaxation of pressure to regain ground. Mr. Robens, the present Minister of Labour, speaking at a meeting on the 26th May, announced that the supersession of 1305 was under consideration, but he implied that it would be replaced by some other regulation still limiting the right to strike. A semi-official announcement a few days later disclosed that the Minister's Joint Consultative Committee, consisting of representatives of employers, of the Trades Union Congress, and of the nationalised industries,

* I should deal in passing with an objection that is sometimes raised to the demand for the repeal of 1305, to the effect that certain provisions in Part III of that regulation, compelling employers to observe terms and conditions of employment settled by negotiation or arbitration, are valuable and ought to be preserved. This objection can easily be met. Section 19 of the Wages Councils Act, 1945, provided that certain provisions scheduled to that Act, substantially similar to Part III of 1305, come into force automatically on the day on which Part III is repealed or otherwise ceases to have effect. This was in the first instance limited to operate only to the end of 1950 but can easily be extended.

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was considering a new Order which would among other things 'abolish *the penal sanctions* relating to strikes and lock-outs'; and on the 3rd June Mr. Robens in another speech showed that the government, like a wheelbarrow, will not go an inch further than the working class movement will push it. He attacked strikes and deplored the rising tide of discontent; such language is not to be taken as merely seeking the industrial peace we all want as long as the right to strike makes it possible to maintain our position; it is too often the stock window-dressing of those who seek to destroy the effective right to strike. It is in truth a warning to us to be still more vigilant and resolute.

The long-continued abrogation of the right to strike may have, indirectly, a very harmful effect upon the younger trade unionists. It cannot be conducive to the maintenance of trade unionism as it was built up in generations of struggle for the right to strike to be fettered—as under other conditions it was fettered in the Fascist countries of Europe, or as it is now in the United States by the Taft-Hartley Act—or for strikers to be prosecuted and sentenced as criminals. That way leads towards the servile state. So long as the basic assumption of common law is that employment is a civil contract between equals—and so long too as the basic assumption of Socialism is that under the capitalist wage system the parties are not equal but that the worker is placed in an inferior position to the employer—the right to strike must remain. No matter how much the machinery of conciliation or voluntary arbitration may obviate the use of the right to strike, the right itself is the condition of freedom.*

To the student or the historian, the ups and downs of the right to strike in the last eighty years present a vignette of the whole working-class struggle. To the worker or the politician, they present two lessons and a challenge. The first lesson is that the right to strike is an essential weapon, none the less essential because no one wants to be forced to use it. The second lesson is that we must never relax, lest we be robbed of our gains. The challenge is that at this moment, when over the whole field of the working-class movement so much is at stake—food, wages, conditions, housing, education, employment, national independence, and peace—we must fight to win back this right from those who have taken it from us.

* It is ironical that the right to strike, although rarely exercised, remains in a Socialist society, such as the U.S.S.R., where there are no capitalists and where the working class controls the conditions of production; whilst in Britain, which is still a capitalist society, and where the right is essential to the working-class struggle, it has been abrogated.

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30 YEARS OF THE LABOUR MONTHLY

HARRY POLLITT

I REMEMBER as yesterday the joy and enthusiasm with which the first issue of the *Labour Monthly* was received by all the most forward-thinking workers in the British Labour Movement when it first appeared in July 1921. Here indeed was a Labour journal of a new type, a real Marxist-Leninist type, that at once struck a new note which found an immediate response, not only in Britain but in every country in the world.

The 'Notes of the Month'—this unique and consistently brilliant feature of the *Labour Monthly*—stated in July, 1921, the justification for its appearance in the following quotation:—

> The appearance of the *Labour Monthly* calls neither for apology nor for justification. It has been brought into being to meet an evident need, for there has, until now, been no magazine in this country devoted primarily to reporting and explaining to British workers the developments of the Labour movement in other countries: and of the need for such reporting and such explanation the world situation of Labour is the clearest proof . .
>
> The situation of Labour in any country has become a part of a general international situation and is only comprehensible in relation to it. That is the first lesson of the present crisis. The second lesson is of still more immediate importance. The present time of trial is putting the organisation of Labour in every country to the severest test it has experienced since the beginning of the war. In every country it is being found that the organisation of Labour is inadequate to the tasks that now confront it. Lack of co-ordination, cumbrous machinery, sectional division and absence of foresight and strategic policy are again and again leading to disastrous results. The re-organisation of the whole Labour movement on a scale adequate to the problems before it has now become the first practical question in every country.

You have only to read that now to see how apposite it is to many of the features of the present situation in Britain more than any other capitalist country in the world.

There were many sceptics among the 'clever people' in the British Labour Movement who said, 'It can't last. We British are not like those on the continent: we are a practical people'. And if you questioned them, they replied, 'Oh, this sort of stuff is

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all right for theoreticians. We have got where we are by the rule of the thumb, not the Sliding Scale'. But, ten years later—July 1931—still alive and kicking, the opening paragraph of the 'Notes of the Month' read as follows:—

> Any period of ten years is an arbitrary and accidental limit. Nevertheless it so happens that the period 1921-1931 has a certain continuity and significance in the history of the movement in this country no less than internationally. Internationally, 1921 marked the end of the post-war revolutionary offensive, and the beginning of the period of the 'breathing-space between two revolutionary waves', which now shows increasing signs of approaching its close. In Britain, these ten years have been the ten years of the prolonged economic crisis that has dominated and increasingly transformed the whole situation. The winter of 1920-21 saw the beginning of the economic crisis that still continues, now at a greater height than ever before. The spring of 1921 saw, with Black Friday, the breaking of the post-war revolutionary wave in Britain. The subsequent ten years have seen the steady process of the social democratic and finally, social-fascist transformation of the old forms of the Labour Party and the trade unions, which has today reached an extreme point. At the same time, these ten years have seen the development, stage by stage, of the revolutionary workers' movement, which beginning still from within the fringes of the old reformist movement, has won increasing emancipation from old inheritances and traditions, and begun to find its independent basis in the new period of mass struggle now opening. There is value to be won from a survey of the perspective of these ten years, all the more as we are now likely to be on the threshold of a new and different type of period.

Again, note the lessons to be drawn at a time when we are again moving into a new period.

On the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the *Labour Monthly*, in July, 1941, the 'Notes of the Month' stated:—

> For twenty years the *Labour Monthly* has consistently fought for principles whose justification is being proved in tht present crisis. It has given continuous warning where the bankrupt policies of declining British capitalism were leading the people. It has given continuous warning where those official policies in the Labour movement which have sought to tie the working class to declining capitalism were no less disastrously leading. These warnings have been continuously justified by the event. Our journal has consistently fought for the working class movement and socialism; it has upheld the cause of the colonial peoples; it has fought for the unity of the working class, for international working class unity, and for the solidarity of the working people of all countries with the Socialist Soviet Union. From the outset of the present war it has upheld

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the principles of working class internationalism. The issues which now open out, eclipse all that have gone before during these twenty years. During the next twenty years—and let us hope in a considerably shorter time, we may look with confidence to see the final victory of those principles for which we have fought.

And let me say at once that ten years later the international working class movement is a very great deal further on the road to that final victory for our principles, than I believe the Editor of the *Labour Monthly* thought possible when he wrote the above words.

It was on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the *Labour Monthly*, that the late George Bernard Shaw, in sending a congratulatory message to the *Labour Monthly* wrote:

When the Plan of Campaign for Labour thus killed the Socialist revival of the eighties, to which I belonged, the *Labour Monthly* stepped in and kept the red flag flying whilst the Labour Party was waving a tattered old Union Jack. That is why I congratulate it heartily on its twentieth birthday.

Looking back over every issue of the last thirty years, one is staggered both by the astonishing variety of the issues dealt with and explained so that it became easier to draw the correct political conclusions, both then and now, and the distinguished galaxy of writers who have contributed to the *Labour Monthly*. Outstanding, of course, in every issue since the first, have been the 'Notes of the Month' by the Editor of the *Labour Monthly*, R. Palme Dutt. Here each month, every current problem and issue both in relation to home and foreign affairs has been analysed, explained, and the Marxist case and policy fortified with all the facts, figures and appropriate quotations in a manner that in my judgment is not surpassed by any Communist writer in the world. I know that every agitator and propagandist, not only in the Communist Party, but far outside its ranks, eagerly waits each month to find new arguments against capitalism and right-wing Social Democracy from the 'Notes of the Month', signed R.P.D. The penetrating analysis, the merciless exposure of false arguments and policies, the devastating denunciation of all that is harmful to the cause of Labour, in the sense that this word is understood by all who have the cause of Socialism at heart and not the profits of capitalism in their bankbooks: the passionate defence of the present and future interests of the working people at home and abroad, and above all the uniform and consistently brilliant level of the Notes, represent a standard over 30 years that is given to but a few people to attain. Anyone who studies these Notes carefully

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at once realises that here is no person writing from afar, but one who hates the rich and loves the poor. One who despises the nauseating and sickening pretensions of those who uphold capitalism in any shape or form and places his services at the cause of those who suffer and die because of the accursed capitalist system. One who has the most profound sense of both real patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Above all, the 'Notes of the Month' for thirty years have not only shown the path that has to be trod, but the confidence that at the journey end the victory will be that of the working people of every country in the world. It is a position in international Marxist writing of which the Editor of the *Labour Monthly* has every right to be proud. And here I think I ought to add that R.P.D. on the few occasions he has not been able to write the 'Notes of the Month', has been very fortunate to have been able to rely upon Robin Page Arnot to take his place and maintain the high standard that R.P.D. has set.

If I was asked how best could any student of politics really understand the history and development of the last thirty years, I would unhesitatingly reply, 'Go over the file of the *Labour Monthly*'. If it was a less ambitious request, and one confined say to wanting to know something about the Middle East, the Dawes Plan, the General Strike, the struggle for national independence of the oppressed colonial peoples, developments in British Trade Unionism, or about the Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union, China and the New Democracies, or what has been the real significance of any Trade Union Congress or Labour Party Conference in the last thirty years, again I would say, 'Consult the files of the *Labour Monthly*'. As I wrote that paragraph I looked at my files of the *Labour Monthly,* and I find that they are studded with bits of paper sticking out of the pages, where I have gone for reference, which proves, doesn't it, that I do not preach what I do not practice.

It is also a fascinating experience to look over the amazing variety of writers who have contributed to the *Labour Monthly* in the last thirty years. G. D. H. Cole, Margaret Cole, Maurice Dobb, Andrew Rothstein, Sh. Saklatvala, Bernard Shaw, Gerald Gould, George Lansbury, R. Page Arnot, R. C. Wallhead, Tom Mann, Herbert Smith, A. J. Cook, A. Purcell, A. L. Horner, Allen Hutt, Joseph Southall, Rutland Boughton, Alex Gossip, Eden and Cedar Paul and Tom Quelch, are only a few there is space to mention. Famous international writers like Henri Barbusse, Clara Zetkin,

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William Z. Foster, Wilhelm Pieck, Max Beer, Leonard Woolf, Sen Katayama, Varga and Gandhi have also contributed to the *Labour Monthly*. There have also been many other contributors to the *Labour Monthly* who turned out to be but men of little faith, men of the type Labour's song of battle *The Red Flag* speaks of in those lines: 'Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place', men who must blush for shame at their practice now as compared to the theories they advanced in what some of them now cynically explain were 'their salad days'. But perhaps one of the greatest services of the *Labour Monthly* has been its publication of articles and speeches by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, because they opened the door of a new storehouse of Marxist literature that had not hitherto been available to British readers; similarly with its publication of historic Manifestos of the International Labour Movement, and the Symposiums it conducted over the years on some burning issue confronting the Labour Movement in Britain.

So we have great pride in celebrating the 30th Anniversary of the *Labour Monthly*, the British Marxist journal that is known not only in Britain, but in every country in the world, a journal as eagerly looked forward to in Paris, Berlin, Budapest, Prague, Sofia, Bucharest, New York, Toronto, Peking, Bombay, Rome, Rangoon and Moscow as it is looked forward to in London.

I congratulate R. Palme Dutt and all his colleagues upon a magnificent achievement, a weapon that strengthens every one wishing to achieve and build Socialism in their time, and I think the best way we can show our appreciation of the *Labour Monthly* is by winning new readers for it.

Long live the *Labour Monthly*!

May a July of the not distant future see us surpassing in Britain the glorious victories secured by socialism in other countries of the world.

In view of the ever increasing demand for old volumes, single back numbers are most welcome. Of recent issues June and October, 1948; April, 1949; and January, 1951, are urgently needed.

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FIVE-POWER PACT

QUÆSTOR

TODAY the great mass of all the nations are aware that something is profoundly wrong with 'international politics'. Hundreds of millions know that the United States Government and its satellites are perpetrating a horrible crime in Korea, comparable to the Hitler-Mussolini crime against the Spanish Republic but worse. Most inhabitants of Europe feel that the same governments are preparing new unimaginable horrors by their deliberate rehabilitation of German and Japanese monopoly capitalism and their rearmament of Germany against the wishes of the German people. Millions of people have been temporarily persuaded, by an international lie campaign even bigger than that of the Nazis, that the Soviet Union shares part of the responsibility. In all the countries of the Atlantic Treaty, the common people are groaning under heavier taxes, rising prices, cuts in education and health services, inroads into freedom—all to pay bigger bills for guns, planes, atom bombs, flame-throwers, presented by the profit-making armaments kings. In Britain the organised workers are being increasingly puzzled by the contrast between Cabinet Ministers' stories about Russia and the truth brought back by their own elected delegates. If ever the times called for direct and massive intervention in international affairs by the common people, this is it.

And the opportunity for that intervention has been provided by the appeal of the World Peace Council for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers. Here are its terms. Their main points should be learned by heart:

> To fulfil the hopes cherished by millions of people throughout the world, whatever may be their view of the causes that have brought about the danger of a world war:
>
> To strengthen and safeguard international security:
>
> We demand the conclusion of a Pact of Peace among the Five Great Powers: the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain, and France.
>
> We would consider a refusal to meet to conclude such a Pact, by the Government of any of the Great Powers, whichever it might be, as evidence of aggressive design on the part of the Government in question.
>
> We call upon all peace-loving nations to support the demand for this Pact of Peace, which should be open to all countries.
>
> We set our names to this appeal and we invite all men and women of

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good will, all organisations that hope for peace, to add their names in its support.

Whatever may be their view of the causes that have brought about the danger of a world war. . . There are plenty of people to sneer: 'Tell Russia to sign it'. The Russians held countless meetings to support the petition against the atom bomb, and put down their names to it by scores of millions: their Parliament endorsed it, and adopted a Bill outlawing war propaganda. They are signing the Appeal today, because they know what war means. But the issue is bigger than that. A new world war—self-destruction of the human race—is threatening. Better months of negotiations than one day of the cataclysm: and the more numerous the items of disagreement the more essential it is that none of them be allowed to drag the world into that cataclysm. Only a full survey of the whole ground, by national representatives mandated *directly* by their people to work out compromise and agreement, can balance settlement in one sphere against settlement in another. For hundreds of millions of simple people, of mothers trembling for their children—the older remembering Shanghai, Abyssinia, Madrid, the younger knowing Coventry and Amsterdam, Berlin and Milan, Leningrad and Stalingrad, Korea North and South—no differences of ideology, no fears of what may be the effect of peaceful comparison between the capitalist and the Communist way of life, can justify letting loose mass murder. On the contrary, it is the existence of differences that dictates to the conscience of the world the urgent need for the Great Powers to meet, to give each other a pledge that they will not go to war, to undertake to find peaceful solutions in all circumstances.

To strengthen and safeguard international security we demand the conclusion of a pact of peace among the five Great Powers. . . . The first and overwhelming responsibility for maintenance of peace falls on the five States who between them number half the world's population, control most of its developed resources, and possess practically all the terrific destructive power of modern armaments. This has been recognised again and again, by the Powers themselves.

'The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and China . . . jointly declare that their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security', they said at the Moscow Conference in October, 1943. Unity of purpose between U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and the

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United Kingdom in peacetime 'is a sacred obligation which our governments owe to our peoples and to the people of the world', in order to promote 'the highest aspiration of humanity, a secure and lasting peace'—they declared at the Crimea Conference (February, 1945). And to give practical effect to this resolve, they decided at the Potsdam Conference after the war (July, 1945) to establish 'a Council of Foreign Ministers representing the five Principal Powers'—precisely those now being called upon to sign a Pact of Peace. And there was no exclusion of China: sensible enough, considering the Chinese People's Republic alone accounts for 25 per cent. of the population of the globe, and had strength enough in 1948-9 to throw out Chiang Kai-shek, the United States puppet supported by its wealth, air force and military instructors.

We would consider a refusal to meet to conclude such a Pact, by the Government of any of the Great Powers whichever it might be, as evidence of aggressive design. Is not this logical? The first action which proclaimed abroad the aggressive intentions of reviving German imperialism was Hitler's withdrawal from the League of Nations in October, 1933: even that slight restraint (aiming by its Covenant 'to achieve international peace and security') was irksome, as it had already proved for Japan in her aggression on China (March, 1933) and as it was to prove for Fascist Italy in her aggression against Abyssinia (December, 1937). When Hitler refused in 1934 to come into the Eastern Locarno proposed by France and U.S.S.R.—a Pact pledging peace in Eastern Europe—that was another testimony of aggressive design. For what is there unworthy, or degrading, or embarrassing—for a Great Power really concerned about peace—in agreeing to meet to discuss, and conclude, a Pact to preserve it?

We may well recall what was said on this subject by a distinguished Soviet spokesman, Litvinov, at the opening of the Disarmament Conference in Geneva nearly 20 years ago:

> These pacts are a kind of acid test for making the other States display their spirit, whether peaceful or the reverse. When a pact proposed by us to a State is immediately accepted and put into force, a certain stability in the relations between the two States may be affirmed. When such a proposal is not immediately accepted but considered for years, and even after the first letter of the signature has been appended to it a period of meditation ensues, and the completion of the signature is postponed, there is naturally less feeling of confidence. But still more serious doubts of a peaceful spirit arise with regard to States which categorically reject proposals for the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression, either on some

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excuse or other, or without giving any excuse. It is then obviously impossible to deny the importance of international pacts as a means of discovering the peaceful or hostile attitude of another State.

We call upon all peace-loving nations to support the demand for this Pact of Peace, which should be open to all countries. The latter point meets the specious and absurd pretext that those Great Powers in whose hands rests the ultimate decision as to war or peace should not take the initiative, because 'it would be undemocratic'.

There are a vast majority of smaller countries whose rulers themselves, whatever class they represent—let alone their peoples—are desperately afraid of war, and would welcome a Great Power Pact of Peace guaranteed by the fact that it was imposed by the people. This has been shown again and again, in the voting at Lake Success, by the delegates of feudal States like Saudi Arabia and backward capitalist States like India, equally with those of advanced Socialist countries like Czechoslovakia—not to speak of the delegates of Latin-American Republics who privately assure Socialist representatives that they would gladly support their just and humane proposals—but dare not! For it was recognised even in League of Nations days that smaller countries are used as small change or cannon-fodder by aggressor Powers. Give them a chance, and they will eagerly support a scheme that will save them from the fate of Belgium and Serbia in the war of 1914-18, Denmark and Luxemburg, Poland and Yugoslavia in the second World War.

We set our names to this appeal, and we invite all men and women of goodwill... Here is the crux of the matter. Ivor Montagu has brilliantly set out, in a lucid plain-spoken pamphlet* which should sell like wildfire, the arguments which will persuade our neighbours, the ordinary men and women of goodwill, that they too should set their names to it. The chief point is that it can be done. Never before have so many hundreds of millions consciously and loudly declared their demand for peace. Never before have they had in their ranks such powerful bulwarks of peace as the Socialist Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, from Poland to China. Never before has the danger to the world been so great. 'The occasion calls for a lead from Britain', the politicians all too often cry when doubtful jobs are under way. But here is a true lead to be given by the true Britain—the hard-working British people desperately interested in a relief from war rations, war taxes, war shortages, war prices, war call-ups, war

* 'Negotiation or War: Why We Need the Peace Pact' (British Peace Committee 3d.)

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alarms, and anxiously looking for peace—peace to work, to study, to rear healthy families, to enjoy their leisure in brotherhood with the working folk of all other nations. The campaign for the Pact of Peace is the people's way to stop a new war.

SPAIN AFTER 15 YEARS

PETER KERRIGAN

IN July, 1936, Francisco Franco assumed leadership of the Fascist military rising in Spain, stepping into the place left vacant by the death in an aeroplane accident of General Sanjurjo, the man who had been chosen to lead the combination of military adventurers, great landowners and industrialists, and open agents of Hitler and Mussolini against the democratically elected Government of the Republic. During the whole 15 years since then, the struggle of the Spanish people for a free democratic, independent and republican Spain has never ceased. What is more, the struggle today has reached heights unequalled since March, 1939, when Franco, with the active intervention of German Nazism and Italian Fascism aided by Chamberlain's betrayal, gained the military decision.

Make no mistake about it, events are happening in Spain, of a character and on a scale which is a profound and impressive tribute to the dauntless courage of the heroic Spanish people. There have been constant guerilla actions and there have been strikes before during the 12 years of the dictatorship. The biggest strike action of recent years occurred four years ago in the Basque country on May Day, 1947. But the events which started early this year, first in actions against increased tram fares in Barcelona, and then burst on the outside world with dramatic suddenness in the mighty manifestation of 300,000 Barcelona strikers, are unique. They represent both a quantitative and qualitative change in the struggle.

Who ever heard of a strike of 300,000 workers in any city in Europe since the end of the war, never mind in a country of fascist dictatorship where strikes are illegal? Yet it occurred in Barcelona. This magnificent act of unprecedented solidarity and discipline was a protest against the appalling conditions of hunger and misery by the workers and lower middle classes, and a challenge to the regime

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responsible. Significantly, among posters carried by the demonstrators some were inscribed ' Fuera los Yanquis ' (out with the Yanks).

Franco used 50,000 soldiers and police, arrested about 5,000 people, and the demonstrators were fired on, but important victories were gained. Wage increases were conceded, they had to ease up on the instructions to employers to dismiss strikers, the Governor was sacked and many employers ignored Government instructions not to pay wages. Barcelona was a signal to the whole of Catalonia. In other Catalonian towns like Manresa, Mataró, and even away up at Port Bou on the French frontier, strikes took place. These were followed in turn by strikes in San Sebastian, then Bilbao, and other Basque towns. In places as far apart as Seville and Malaga (where May Day stoppages took place), Madrid, Vittoria and Pamplona in Navarre the strike movement spread.

Once the movement had strongly expressed itself in Barcelona and Catalonia generally, it might have been expected to manifest itself also in storm centres like the Basque country and Madrid. But Seville! Even more magnificent was the victorious four-day strike of 30,000 in Pamplona which won increased rations, and reduced prices, with no victimisation and release of those arrested. That happened in the heart of Navarre, centre of support for Franco during the civil war, where the church has had terrific influence and where the Falange was very strong indeed.

These events prove what we in the International Brigade and Friends of Republican Spain have always known and asserted. The fight against Franco in Spain has never ceased for one day. At times it has risen to great heights. Then there have been periods of less obvious activity. All the time, unceasingly the Resistance Movement has continued, often being maintained only by the price of heavy sacrifices in life and liberty.

The Resistance Movement and the people of Spain have proved by deeds the falsity of the assertion made by the defeatists that it was impossible without outside intervention to defeat the Fascist regime. These actions are also a conclusive answer to the spate of apologists in this country, from the *Picture Post* to the *New Statesman,* who were at pains to emphasise and explain the 'spontaneous' character of these strikes and the ' weakness ' of the illegal organisations. On the contrary, these movements are obviously the result of careful preparations and outstanding examples of discipline and organisation, challenging and defeating the whole repressive forces of the Fascist State.

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Latest reports say that the highly successful Madrid Transport boycott was organised in part through the open distribution of leaflets. The breadth of the movement can be judged when it is realised that besides workers and peasants the authorities arrested factory owners, business men, bankers, and a mayor. The rector of Barcelona University would not permit the police to enter the University to search for students, so the University was closed down for days.

These movements are a fitting commentary on the recent defeatist announcement of the leading Right Wing Social Democrat Indalecio Prieto, who publicly announced his withdrawal from active participation in the political life of the Spanish Emigration. His withdrawal (if it turns out to be true) would have this positive effect. It would take out of action one who has intrigued with Royalists, Fascists and the American and British Governments to disrupt the unity of all anti-Franco forces and sabotage and betray the cause of Republican Spain.

In contrast, the best fighters for the freedom of Spain, headed by the Communist Party of Spain both inside and outside the country, have led the resistance to Franco and called for the utmost unity in the present historic period. On top of the Barcelona and other strikes, Pasionaria's stirring call for unity and struggle to overthrow Franco has been followed by a Manifesto signed by scores upon scores of leading Spaniards headed by Jose Giral, the former Prime Minister. Among the signatories are many outstanding people, former Government ministers, deputies to the Cortes, officers of the Republican armed forces, educationalists, scientists, doctors, writers, painters—a really representative group of Spaniards.

The Manifesto says:

Spaniards:

The people of Barcelona in rising against the Franco régime, against hunger and the danger of war, have spoken in the name of all Spaniards.

Barcelona has shown that it is possible to overthrow the Franco terror, and reconquer democracy if the people unites its forces and rises above political and social differences.

We, representative of different tendencies inside Spanish democracy, consider it our duty in these grave hours to address this call for the unity of the Republic and the salvation of Spain.

We address it to those Spaniards who are directly suffering under the Franco yoke, inviting them to unite wherever they are, in towns and cities,

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factories, and offices, universities, and barracks, to co-ordinate their activity and follow the example of Barcelona.

We call on them to show their active solidarity with the heroic Catalan fighters. We call also on those Spaniards in exile, in responsible organisations and persons in the parties and institutions of the Republic to pay heed to the voice of our oppressed people which sets us an example and appeals to us to overcome our differences and divisions to create a common front against Franco and for the Republic.

The mighty echo which the deeds of the Catalan people have awakened in all countries shows that the democratic world is with our just cause and that we can count on its aid. The fight is not finished. Barcelona is only the beginning. The continuation of the united fight of Spanish patriots and democrats will be the death of the Franco régime and the liberation of Spain.

True, it is 'only the beginning' as the further news from Spain bears witness.

What of the position in this country? Our Government has just exchanged Ambassadors with Franco. We sent Sir John Balfour to Madrid, and in return Franco rubbed our noses in the dirt by sending as his ambassador Don Miguel Primo de Rivera, son of the dictator of 1923-30 and brother of Jose Antonio, who founded and was first leader of the Spanish Falange, the fascist organisation of Spain; Don Miguel is also a foundation member of the Falange and an active one at that.

At the same time our trade with Franco goes up and so does Franco's favourable balance with this country. In 1950 we took £36,300,000 of goods from Spain and sold to them £13,700,000. This left a balance of £22,600,000 which he can use to pay for trade with other parts of the world. Don't let us forget either, that £26 million of the goods we bought from him represented *food and drink taken from the already starving Spanish workers.*

In Spain today the worker receives half the real wages he got (and this applies to both skilled and unskilled) in 1936. His wage is from two to three times the wage of 1936, but the cost of living has gone up between six and seven times what it was in 1936. Many workers do 72 hours a week to keep going. T.B. is increasing alarmingly. How could it be otherwise when these are the conditions, and 55 per cent. of the total budget goes on war or war preparations? America has granted Franco 62½ million dollars loan and up to date Franco has received 17½ millions of it. This is part payment for the sell-out by Franco of Spain and the Spanish people

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to American imperialism. After all, the Yanks who have again and again released war criminals in West Germany, have no dainty stomachs in their war preparations. They estimate Franco, if well enough paid, might be able to put 22 Divisions in the field for the forthcoming war on the Soviet Union.

Both he and Wall Street have reckoned without the Spanish people. They are on the move, and will not rest until they have settled accounts with Franco and have re-established a free democratic Republic. But what are we in Britain going to do about it? The British people responded magnificently during the war of 1936-1939. The epic struggle of the Spanish people was powerfully aided by the heroic British Battalion of the International Brigade, and the great movement of aid to Spain that reversed the fatal policy of the T.U.C. on non-intervention. The five hundred British dead who sleep in Spain include some of the most able writers, poets and thinkers of their day, together with the best and bravest of the working-class movement in Britain. That record and those dead, whose story the *Labour Monthly* faithfully recorded many years ago, is a challenge demanding a new and greater effort on our part.

We can force our Government to withdraw our Ambassador and send the Fascist De Rivera packing. No Spaniard who opposes Franco (and that means the vast majority of the Spaniards) can accept this incredible position. We must end this trade that robs starving Spanish people of precious food while bolstering up Franco's tottering régime. We can put an end to all efforts to bring Franco into the Western War bloc while we fight to reverse the Government's whole foreign policy.

Finally, it is our duty to do everything possible to sustain and encourage the dauntless people of Spain in their splendid fight for freedom which is an inspiration and an object lesson to all of us. Nay, it is more. It is a challenge by example, the same kind of challenge expressed by Robert Burns when he wrote:

> By oppression's woes and pains!
> By your sons in servile chains!
> We will drain our dearest veins!
> But they shall be free.

Shame on all of us, if we let these heroic, true and patriotic sons and daughters of Spain go on draining their blood, without aligning ourselves squarely by their side in the noble cause of Peace and Freedom.

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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF WILLIAM MORRIS

Introduced by

R. PAGE ARNOT

BOOKS on Morris are written every year—many of them inferior rubbish—while he is regularly hailed and saluted by Prime Ministers (Attlee the latest) whose policies he would have been the first to denounce. In these circumstances there is particular interest in hitherto unpublished letters which throw additional light on his political work and show his standpoint very clearly on the much-disputed question of parliamentary activities. These letters*, addressed to Dr. Glasse, of Edinburgh, have been made available to *Labour Monthly* by the kindness of Mr. Freeman Bass.

The first letter is dated little more than a year after Morris, heading a majority of the Council of the Social-Democratic Federation against H. M. Hyndman and John Burns and others, had founded (on December 30, 1884) a new society, the Socialist League. Eleanor Marx joined the new body which at this stage also had the support of Frederick Engels. Hyndman, leading the Council's minority that retained the title of Social-Democratic Federation, plunged into adventurous courses that would bring publicity. The rest of the back-

* The letters, twenty-one in number (including three postcards), run from February, 1886, to March, 1895. All except three are in the years 1887, 1888 and 1889. Within each of these three years the letters cover only a few months. In 1887 the letters run from mid-April to end September: in 1888 from January 9 to March 17: in 1889 from September 9 to November 21. All the letters are addressed from Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith. For the most part they are concerned with arrangements for lectures and journeys in Scotland.

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ground to this first letter is shown clearly in correspondence* between Engels and Bebel, the leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, in the same month of 1886. Engels writes that the Social-Democratic Federation ' which, despite all self-advertising reports, is an extremely weak organisation ' was brought ' to the verge of dissolution ' at the November, 1885, general election, when Hyndman ' had taken money from the Tories ' and with it put up Social-Democratic candidates in two London constituencies, where they got 32 and 27 votes respectively. Three months later, on February 8, 1886, Hyndman led ' a procession of " unemployed " through Pall Mall, the street of the big political, aristocratic and high-capitalist clubs '. When the ' aristocrats at the club windows sneered at them, they broke the said windows, ditto the shop windows '. Afterwards, these ' masses of the Lumpen proletariat, whom Hyndman had taken for the unemployed ', streamed through the West End, 'looted jewellers' and other shops', and then dispersed. It is with this West End riot of February 8 that Morris' first letter deals.

February 10, 1886.

My dear Glasse,

Thank you very much. I know that you will do what you can in spreading the light. As to Monday's riot, of course I look at it as a mistake to go in for a policy of riot, all the more as I feel pretty certain that the Socialists will one day have to fight seriously because though it is quite true that if labour could organise itself properly the enemy could not even dream of resisting, yet that organisation could not possibly keep pace with the spread of discontent which will accompany the break up of the old system, so that we shall be forced to riot. Well, it is a mistake to try to organise riot; yet I do not agree with you that Monday's affair will hurt the movement. I think it will be of service: any opposition to law and order in the streets is of use to us, *if the price of it is not too high:* in this case I don't think it will be; the worst part of it being that it rather rehabilitates Hyndman: if they try him it will be a misfortune from that point of view: but I don't think they will. I believe by the way from all I hear that the outbreak was a surprise to the interviewer. I don't think there was much *exaggeration* in the papers, but considerable misstatement. The mass of the crowd, from what I can hear (I was not present), was composed of workmen, but of course there were bound to be a certain number of professional thieves (who after all are a necessary product of our Society). For the rest an English mob is always brutal at any rate till it rises to heroism. Altogether taken I think we must look upon this affair as an incident of the Revolution, and so far encouraging: the shop wrecking was partly a grotesque practical joke

* ' Marx-Engels Selected Correspondence ', edited by Dona Torr, 1934.

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(quite in the English manner) at the expense of the upper classes. At any rate it is a glimpse for them of the bed-rock of our present society, and I hope they like it. Yesterday they were gibbering with terror in spite of the sham calm heroics of the newspapers. I shall say frankly what I think about the affair in the next C., *must* in fact.

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM MORRIS.

In the next *Commonweal* (journal of the Socialist League, issued from February, 1885, onwards), Morris as editor duly issued a statement of policy in which he put forward the hope for 'a strong party, educated in economics, in organisation, in administration'; but, perhaps with a side-glance at the newly-formed Fabian Society, stated 'We must be no mere debating club, or philosophical society; we must take part in all really popular movements when we can make our own views on them unmistakably clear; that is a most important part of the education in organisation'. He ends with summing-up 'our policy' in three words—'Education towards Revolution'.

Dr. John Glasse, to whom Morris sent these letters, had been attached to the Social-Democratic Federation whence he had gone into the Socialist League. He was the minister of the Old Greyfriars Parish Kirk, in which the Covenant of 1638 had been subscribed and in whose kirkyard, forty years later, over a thousand Covenanters had been confined for months in a primitive concentration camp. He was born in 1848. I remember him, about forty years ago, when he was nearing sixty, as a man with a noble brow and an aureole of silver hair who gave greeting and countenance to a number of young socialists (including Professor H. Levy) at a gathering one evening in Edinburgh. Glasse, in the recollection of an old member of the S.D.F. who joined the Edinburgh branch in 1906, remained true to the outlook of the Socialist League, and, though he did not attach himself formally to either I.L.P. or S.D.F., could always be relied upon for help in difficulties.

It was with Glasse that Morris stayed when his tours of agitation took him to Edinburgh, as Morris tells in a letter to his daughter Jenny:

> ... So to Edinburgh with a nice innocent comrade of that branch, Gilray*, who chopped in upon me the day before: you know one has about 30 minutes sea from Fife across the firth to Granton, whence of old times I set sail to Iceland. I stayed (with) Glasse at Edinburgh and had a meeting in the evening (Tuesday, 5th) not very well attended, but interesting

* John Gilray died early this year at the age of 94.

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because it seems the audience was a new one, and a good (deal) hostile so that Glasse was afraid of putting our resolution, which however we carried after a rather stormy debate, owing to the stupidity of a cut and dried opponent one Job Bone, who always opposes everything, and is known in Edinburgh as the 'Bone of Contention'.

On the same day Morris wrote to Glasse as follows:

April 14, 1887.

My dear Glasse,

After all I stayed in Scotland till Sunday, as I was so earnestly pressed to assist at the Easter Monday meeting in Northumberland. It was a capital meeting, and there is no doubt that Mahon has done well there, and that the movement has taken hold. I send you a copy of the *N. Chronicle* which has a good report of Hyndman's and my speech but has omitted Donald's which was very good. The Easter Monday in London was a great triumph for the Socialists at any rate.

I send you the leaflet mentioned by me; Binning at the League will deal with you if you want any; it is now called 'What the Socialists want'.

I am not forgetting your Odyssey.

Don't forget that we ought to have a delegate from the Branch up at Whitsuntide.

Yours ever,

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The 1887 Annual Conference of the Socialist League was now approaching and Morris was uneasy about it, lest a decision be taken about 'parliamentary action' which might be a throw back to the tactics which had been such a discredit to Hyndman and the S.D.F. Accordingly he pressed for Glasse, who had been one of his main supports in the show-down with Hyndman in December, 1884, to come up for the Conference which fell at Whitsuntide on May 29.

May 19, 1887.

My dear Glasse,

Am I to have the pleasure of seeing you in London at Whitsuntide? I hope so. If so you understand of course that you will come to my house, and I need not say that we shall be glad to see Mrs. Glasse also. My wife has now returned from Italy and will be pleased to know her.

I am very uneasy anent the Conference. The parliamentary people are looking like driving matters to extremity, which means driving me out of the League if they succeed. I am quite ready to let the matter rest if they will really leave it alone, but I cannot support a 'Stepping-Stone' policy which for me (since I don't believe in them) would mean acting a lie.

I hope your people will be prepared to support the mild negative which the Hammersmith Branch will move, in case the question comes up for discussion. I have no wish to quarrel with the S.D.F. but I cannot swallow my

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words and rejoin them; and to have two organisations holding the same tenets and following the same policy seems to me absurd.

Of course if any other comrade comes up with you I shall be very glad to house him.

With best regards to Mrs. Glasse.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Glasse, however, was unable to come; and in the next letter Morris sets forth to him very clearly his standpoint on the function and limitations of the parliamentary activity of a socialist party.

May 23, 1887.

My dear Glasse,

Of course you are quite right not to shove your head into the noose: I by no means approve of men running to meet martyrdom. I shall hope to see you later on in the year, when I suppose you will be coming to London. Will you kindly forward to Tuke the accompanying note, so as to put him at his ease as to coming to a strange house.

My position to Parliament and the dealings of Socialists with it, I will now [try] to state clearly. I believe that the Socialists will certainly send members to Parliament when they are strong enough to do so: in itself I see no harm in that, so long as it is understood that they go there as rebels, and not as members of the governing body prepared by passing palliative measures to keep 'Society' alive. But I fear that many of them will be drawn into that error by the corrupting influence of a body professedly hostile to Socialism: and therefore I dread the parliamentary period (clearly a long way ahead at present) of the progress of the party: and I think it will be necessary always to keep alive a body of Socialists of principle who will refuse responsibility for the action of the parliamentary portion of the party. Such a body now exists in the shape of the League, while germs of the parliamentary side exist in the S.D.F., Fabian and Union. Now why should we try to confound the policy of these bodies? The opinion, or if you please sentiment, will exist in any case, and must at some time or another give rise to definite organisations. I appeal to those who doubt the usefulness of such a body of principle at all events to stand aside and not to break it up but join other bodies now existing for whom I for my part feel complete tolerance, so long as they are not brought *inside* ours. But if that is done the League will sooner or later be broken up, because, I repeat, the non-parliamentary feeling will assuredly not be repressed entirely. All this has nothing to do with the question of Collectivism or Anarchism; I distinctly disagree with the Anarchist principle, much as I sympathise with many of the anarchists personally, and although I have an Englishman's wholesome horror of government interference and centralisation which some of our friends who are built on the German pattern are not quite enough afraid of I think. I agree that it would be not so much impolitic as impossible to pronounce on the

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matters of religion and family. People's instincts are I think leading them in the right direction, in these matters, and yet the old superstitions, as they have now become, have such a veil of tradition and literature about them it is difficult to formulate the probabilities (they can be no more) of the new order in words that will not be misunderstood, and so cause offence.

As to *my behaviour* in this difficult crisis, I can only say that I do not feel the least bitterness to anyone, and shall do my best to get people to find a peaceable solution for present trouble, or even to accept a staving off loyally and with single heart. But indeed I cannot go on nagging for ever. I loathe contention and find it unfits me for serious work. My own belief is that we shall avoid a split but I *may* be forced to leave the League; but you may depend on it that I will not do so till I am driven out of it. On the other hand it may become necessary for me to withdraw from the Council, and cultivate my own and other branches; in doing which hitherto I have had nothing but pleasant experiences and mostly helpful ones, too.

If any of the Branch are wishful to know my opinion and position further than they do know it, you are quite at liberty to show them this letter.

With best wishes to you and yours and greeting to all members of the Branch.

I am,

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM MORRIS.

This was followed by a letter written on the eve of the Socialist League Conference, in which Morris is in less uneasy mood about the outcome of it. He wants above all to get rid of two discordant policies being voiced by the League.

May 28, 1887.

My dear Glasse,

You see this is the crux: if the League passes a Parliamentary resolution the League, i.e., all members of it, are pledged to support that policy: but I think that policy is a mistake and cannot accept that pledge; if asked whether I agree with such a policy I must either answer no, or lie. This is no mere abstract difficulty, for during the past year Donald and others have been lecturing to branches (with mixed audiences at them of course) and have been preaching a policy which I and others have been attacking, to the great puzzlement of the lieges. What's to be done? We can't say yes and no to this question. I think the best way is for the differing individuals to join the differing bodies, and for those differing bodies to do each their own work without any hostility to each other: to work together wherever possible indeed, which can often be done.

I hate schism as much as you do, as all our people know well: indeed our parliamentary friends have been rather speculating on this knowledge; which I admit is more my fault than theirs; but now I must put my foot down. However, I don't think you need fear a split: a general negative to

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parliamentarism will, I think, be carried, which will not press on individuals unless they are on the Council. As to that body I think it would be far better for it not to have a 'government and opposition', and to cease to trouble itself about anything but obvious business. Heaven knows we can find plenty of that to do. Keep up your spirits.

Yours ever,

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The last letter of the year 1887 opens with a reference to a hymn, written presumably by Edward Carpenter, the writer of 'England, Arise', whom Morris had visited at his Chesterfield garden in December, 1884; and answers Glasse's suggestion which it may be presumed was that Sir Arthur Sullivan, of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas and earlier known for his church music, should compose the tune. The rest of the letter is interesting not only for its remarks on Bernard Shaw and the Fabians but also for yet another clear statement on the question of parliament.

September 23, 1887.

My dear Glasse,

Many thanks for the hymn which is an acquisition. As to Sir A. Sullivan I don't know him, perhaps Carpenter himself might write to him: but I will find out if a friend or two that I know, may chance to know him.

As to *Commonweal* we will keep it up if possible: but of course it cannot be kept up at a weekly loss by a few donations: the whole body must help us to tide over the deficit and above all to *sell* the paper: the circulation *is* increasing however slowly, and I really think if we can keep it up for another year we shall have founded a self-supporting Socialist paper. As for 'our differences', I feel nothing but conciliation about them: and in London I am sure that is the general feeling. As to what can be allowed, I don't think anyone ever proposed to interfere with the way in which private members might vote. But I don't see how any formal permission can be given to the branches to follow their own course of action (though I have no doubt they will do so). Because you see each branch ought to represent the general policy of the whole League being an integral and responsible part of it. However you may be sure that if the 'parliamentary' section let the matter drop we shall not stir it; I can only hope that they will, and that our next Conference will concern itself wholly with means of propaganda and the support of *Commonweal*. I repeat that everybody up here belonging to the League are heartily sick of quarrelling. Perhaps that disreputable dog Aveling may try to stir up something though: and also there is a danger ahead in a kind of informal Conference now going on at Zurich, which I fancy has for its object an attack on the 'Anarchists', i.e., all who will not swallow the German 'Social Democrat' doctrines whole. I think that you will agree with me that this sort of pedantic tyranny must be resisted. The attitude of Shaw also and his Fabians is rather difficult to get over: they are distinctly push-

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ing forward that very useful association of lecturers as the only sound Socialist Body in the country: which I think is nonsense. For myself as I have told you before I have no wish to attack any body of Socialists: all I can say is that I would prefer to belong to a body that held aloof from parliamentary work, if such a body existed; and I think it very desirable, to say the least of it, that such a body should exist.

Of course, it's clearly no use talking of parliamentary action now: I admit, and always have admitted, that at some future period it may be necessary to use parliament mechanically: what I object to is *depending* on parliamentary agitation. There *must* be a great party, a great organisation outside parliament actively engaged in reconstructing society and learning administration whatever goes on in the parliament itself. This is in direct opposition to the view of the regular parliamentary section as represented by Shaw, who look upon parliament as *the* means; and it seems to me will fall into the error of moving earth and sea to fill the ballot boxes with Socialist votes which will not represent Socialist *men*. However, let them try it. I don't care so long as the League exists with the other aim of getting the workmen to look after their own affairs and thereby building up the new Society in the shell of the old one.

Excuse this long yarn.

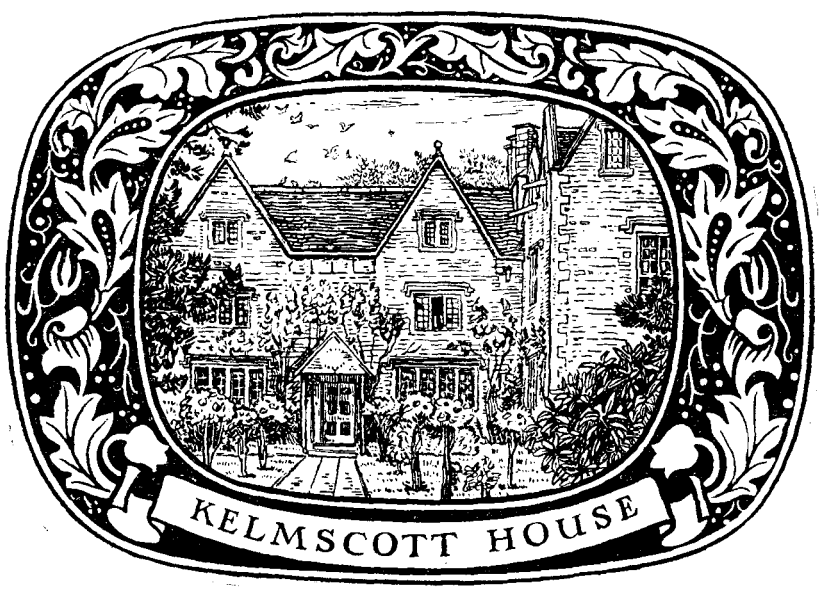
With kindest regards and best wishes,

I am,

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(*To be continued*)



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30th ANNIVERSARY LABOUR MONTHLY

Messages of Greeting

From the Editorial Board of 'For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy':

The Editorial Board of *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* sends fraternal Communist greetings to the *Labour Monthly*, Marxist-Leninist journal, on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary. During the past thirty years the *Labour Monthly* has fostered and developed the ideas of proletarian internationalism; it has exposed the treachery of reformism and Labour imperialism; it has helped to mould and train in Britain fighters loyal to the cause of Marxism-Leninism. By its denunciation and exposure of the aggressive strivings of Anglo-American imperialism and its docile Labour lackeys, and its support for the camp of peace the *Labour Monthly* has won for it an honoured place in the ranks of the legions of peace fighters. We wish the *Labour Monthly* and its readers continued success in their noble struggle for lasting peace, in their fight for the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

From Palmiro Togliatti:

The thirtieth anniversary of the birth of the *Labour Monthly* gives me the welcome occasion to express my fraternal praise for your long and precious work in defence of the cause of peace and progress under the flag of the International proletariat. Going through the record of the thirty years' struggle which is reflected in the pages of the *Labour Monthly* the greatness of the step forward made by progressive humanity in this decisive period of its history, stands out more clearly than ever. The youthful Socialist Republic of those early days, is to day the great Soviet Union that under the brilliant direction of Stalin has passed to the building of Communism. By its side, and under its enlightened guidance an immense part of the world, from the new Eastern Democracies of Europe to People's China, the way is already open for social reconstruction,

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whilst we see everywhere multiplied and tempered, the forces struggling for the emancipation of all the peoples from the capitalist régime of exploitation and war. Today, when our efforts are strained in preventing American imperialism from unleashing a new and terrible war of destruction, we send to your *Monthly* and to yourself who for so many years have directed it with such courage, our warmest expression of sympathy and sincere wishes for ever new and greater success in the struggle for socialism and for peace.

From Vicente Lombardo Toledano:

I am honoured to send you and the other members of the editorial staff of *Labour Monthly* my most sincere and fervent congratulations on the splendid work of examination and theoretical exposition which that review has been performing for 30 years. *Labour Monthly* should rightly be regarded as one of the most remarkable institutions of our time. With the period throughout which it has been published, it fills a whole epoch, a great epoch, in which the most decisive struggles in the history of mankind have been, and continue to be, waged. In this storm, and looking towards the future, *Labour Monthly* has with great dignity and ability presented the ideas and aspirations of the revolutionary and constructive class *par excellence*—the working class—and, in consequence, the yearnings of the great masses of all exploited and oppressed peoples and of the intellectuals who have taken their place at the side of these new forces of society. Many of us have received lessons, teaching, and encouragement from the pages of *Labour Monthly* and because of this it has been possible for the voice of that journal to be transmitted to hundreds of thousands of working people. In these days we are engaged in the greatest, most important and most dramatic struggle of all time: the struggle to prevent the war which the imperialists of North America and their allies want to let loose. In this struggle is being decided the future of mankind for many years to come, and also the fate of human culture. *Labour Monthly* is an outstanding champion in this unprecedented struggle and, for that reason, is not only a defender of the principles of the working class but also of man's most sacred heritage, his very life. This effort will not be wasted. Publications such as *Labour Monthly* express with clarity and exactness the viewpoint of the masses; but at the same time they rely on the tremendous backing which the action of those masses represents. I am sure that from all countries of the world you will be receiving words similar to these, imbued with

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the most profound and sincere desire that *Labour Monthly's* glorious history may not come to a close with these 30 years, but that it may be prolonged indefinitely for the good of the working class, of all peoples and of the development of human culture which finds its highest expression in Marxist thought.

From Marcel Cachin:

On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of *Labour Monthly*, one of the best known and justly reputed journals of International Marxism, we address to our friends in arms our warmest congratulations. Our sincere hope is that the *Labour Monthly* will acquire an ever-widening and amply-merited circulation among the élite workers across the Channel. We are among those who recognise the solid and precious qualities of the people of Great Britain: their practical sense, their courage, their self-control, their concern for justice and democracy. Many of the most essential contributions to the cause of human progress have come from British scientists. A British thinker, John Locke, was the first to ground on experiment progressive modern philosophy. Another illustrious son of Great Britain, Darwin, gave to the world a new conception of the eternal evolution of living beings. It was by observing and analysing English capitalist economy, the most advanced of its time, that Marx and Engels were able to surpass Ricardo and Adam Smith and reach the conclusion of the necessity of socialism and communism. And today, we salute one of the most remarkable scholars of our times, John Desmond Bernal, whose works shed a brilliant lustre on the glory of science by giving a Marxist interpretation to economic and political events. It has been the great and unrivalled merit of the journal, edited with so much perseverance and conscientiousness by our friend Palme Dutt, to defend the scientific tradition from the times of Locke and Darwin down to the representatives of modern science. It has upheld, indefatigably, that events obey the laws of evolution disclosed and verified by Marxism. During thirty years, in the face of an empiricism without perspectives, *Labour Monthly* has proclaimed the necessity of a well-defined theory, and still renders the most signal service to the British people and to the cause of human progress.

From Tim Buck:

To greet the thirtieth anniversary of the *Labour Monthly* is indeed a gratifying pleasure. The first number of the L.M. arrived

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in Canada very shortly after the founding convention of the Communist Party of Canada and we have always looked upon the L.M. as indispensable, the leading journal of theory and practice published in the English-speaking countries. We need the *Labour Monthly* now more than ever, if that is possible; the passionate indignation with which it denounces evil no less than the unwavering sense of sureness that L.M. communicates to its readers concerning the path forward. Certainly that sense of sureness is going to be needed in the turbulent struggles that lie ahead. Having extended their empire of the dollar over the entire capitalist world the U.S. imperialists are hell-bent now upon establishing their direct military power in every capitalist country also—under the illusion that they will thereby harness the peoples of satellites to fight for Wall Street against the peoples of the socialist sector of the world. Aided by governments which are betraying their own countries in the hope of thereby helping to save the profit system, Wall Street is reducing the older imperialist states to a retinue of dependants; headed by once-proud Britannia. Our country, Canada, is already in essentials an occupied country; with Americans exercising extra-territorial rights in numerous areas. The present government, which represents and is in the service of finance-capital and its great monopolies in a degree which distinguishes it from any previous government of Canada, is using its control of the State to transform this country into an economic, military and political satellite of United States imperialism. The sovereignty of Parliament is being reduced to limits bounded by recognition (no less real and resented because it is unacknowledged) of the over-riding authority of the U.S. imperialists. There is now but very little effort to disguise the fact that the government is gearing Canada into A UNITED STATES WAR! Yes, the entire Labour movement needs that *Labour Monthly*. May this thirtieth anniversary mark a new upsurge of the influence of your brilliant Marxist-Leninist guidance through the turbulent struggles in which the world is going to be changed rapidly in the period ahead.

From William Z. Foster:

I wish to extend to *Labour Monthly* my heartiest greetings upon the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary. In this general period of the breakdown of world capitalism and the rise of world socialism, a whole series of complex economic and political problems are being thrust up which are taxing all the skill and understanding of

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the best Marxist-Leninists of every country. *Labour Monthly*, one of the world's very best proletarian journals, is indeed doing its full share in helping solve these knotty theoretical problems and also in making known these solutions to the masses. We in the United States always read with interest and profit your fine magazine, especially the brilliant running history of world affairs in the month-by-month notes written by your editor, R. Palme Dutt. Long may *Labour Monthly* live to perform its indispensable analytical and educational political work.

From Pieter Keuneman:

On behalf of *Labour Monthly's* many readers and friends in Ceylon, I send you our congratulations and good wishes on its 30th anniversary. There are many reasons why we hold this magazine in high esteem and affection. We have found its illuminating analysis of international events a most valuable source of clarification and inspiration for our national liberation and working-class movement. We have profited by the study of its many distinguished articles and especially by its publication of the writings of the leaders of classical and contemporary Marxist thought. It has been a reliable interpreter of trends within the British working-class movement, a champion of colonial peoples and a firm friend of peace, freedom and equality between nations. During the past thirty years *Labour Monthly* has steadfastly advocated and assiduously built up unity between the British people and those of the Commonwealth and colonial Empire. We attach especial importance to this contribution which will stand us in good stead today, when the peoples of these countries have to win in common their liberation from the threat of war and American imperialist domination. We wish *Labour Monthly* continued success and increasing influence in the struggle for peace, freedom and international socialism.

From Fan Chang Chiang, 'People's Daily', China:

Please accept my warmest greetings for thirtieth anniversary of *Labour Monthly*, guide of British working class and British people and organiser of British movement to defend peace, and movement to develop friendship between British and Chinese peoples.

From 'People's China', Peking:

On occasion 30th anniversary *Labour Monthly* we send you warm fraternal greetings. Wish you still greater success in great cause defending rights of the British working class striving for socialist

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future of Britain, developing Sino-British peoples' friendship, and consolidating lasting world peace.

From Romesh Thapar, Editor, ' Crossroads ', Bombay:

For us in India, the thirtieth birthday of *Labour Monthly* is not only an occasion to send our most cordial greetings, but also to acknowledge the great debt we owe to this internationally-read journal of the working class. You have given valuable assistance to the struggles of the toiling and oppressed peoples of India and over thirty memorable years have helped to clarify all outstanding problems. The thirty years traversed by *Labour Monthly* are among the most momentous in the history of mankind. Today, when all roads lead to Communism, we are confident that *Labour Monthly* will play its vital role and will see the creation of a People's Britain. We long for that day when our two peoples, in friendship and equality, will strive together to build a future of peace and progress. More power to you. And on this happy anniversary no greetings from India would be complete without warm and comradely salutations to Rajani Palme Dutt, *our* R.P.D., old and trusted friend of the Indian people.

From Hertha Kuusinen:

The Communist Party and the People's Democratic League of Finland wish, through me, to extend their cordial greetings to *Labour Monthly,* the leading Marxist political-theoretical journal in Great Britain, on its 30th anniversary.

Labour Monthly has throughout the world become known as an important source of political information from which not only the front rank workers of Britain, but we, the Communists of other countries, have gained knowledge and theoretical guidance. The fact alone, that many of the works of Marx and Engels appeared in English for the first time in the pages of this journal, means that millions of people through this medium have become aware of the ideology of scientific socialism. But the journal has also distinguished itself for considerable creative work by applying the teachings of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, to the conditions of Great Britain. The *Labour Monthly* deserves special merit for its analysis of the colonial question, for spurring the subjugated people in their fight for freedom and for championing the cause of equality between the English people and those of the colonies. Thus it has given a weighty contribution to the cause of the workers' in-

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ternational solidarity, it has furthered this aim also by continually dealing with international working class problems.

I add my personal congratulations to those of the General Secretary of the Finnish Communist Party, Ville Pessi, and the Chairman, Aimo Aaltonen, and wish your journal success in its most valuable work.

From William Gallacher:

For thirty years the banner of Marx and Engels, of Lenin and Stalin, has been carried high and ever higher through the living marching columns of the *Labour Monthly*. Honour to the grand group of comrades who have fashioned such a mighty weapon. A challenge to the enemies of mankind, a never failing guide to the workers and oppressed colonial peoples in their battle against exploitation—their battle for the realisation of the new world of Socialism. Thirty years of clear, valiant leadership through all the complications of decaying, dying capitalism. Greetings to you, my comrades, for the great days that are past and for the greater days that lie ahead.

From J. D. Bernal, F.R.S.:

I have been a reader of the *Labour Monthly* ever since the first copy appeared. I can well remember how it impressed us in Cambridge in the disturbed days after the war as being the first clear light on the new forces that were then shaping the world. Over those thirty eventful years I have found its 'Notes of the Month' and its articles, of enormous value in reaching an understanding of the trend of events. Through all that time the *Labour Monthly* has kept a steady course. In analysing situations it has drawn from facts conclusions that never led to a passive acceptance of the inevitable, but always pointed clearly to the most intelligent and effective action. While the other journals of its early days are now only literary curiosities, the files of the *Labour Monthly* are of the stuff of history which lives because its lessons are needed to solve present problems. We have gone a long way since 1921. Throughout the world the popular forces have grown immensely stronger, while here in our country the people have experienced and learned much of the workings of a decadent capitalism and morally bankrupt social democracy. Yet we have a long way to go. The tasks of the future are likely to be at least as arduous as those of the past. May

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we be able to count on the encouragement and guidance of the *Labour Monthly* for many years to come.

From the Dean of Canterbury:

THE *Labour Monthly* is invaluable. No periodical literature should I miss more grievously than the *Labour Monthly* should it cease publication. With masterly skill it singles out, month by month, the most important matters which demand immediate handling and gives their discharge to those most competent to deal with them. In its editorial notes the *Labour Monthly* drives its points—and they are always substantial and balanced and far-sighted points—home with a brilliance quite unequalled in London journalism. Its predictions are sure. If I want to know, and I do, what will probably happen next week, month, next winter, next year, I look to the L.M. to inform me. Why? Because it applies the science of society to the problems of life. Because it reduces problems to basic principles. Because, just as it entrusts questions of physical matter to physical scientists, so it entrusts questions of society to scientific sociologists.

From J. B. Figgins:

I should like to send my personal greetings to the *Labour Monthly* on its 30th anniversary and to express my warmest wishes for its continued success. Unquestionably, the journal has done a magnificent service in publishing, for the first time in English, many of the writings of Marx—that profound theoretician of the scientific Socialist movement—and of Lenin who, to use Lloyd George's words, was ' the greatest figure thrown up by the world war of 1914-1918 ', and who translated those theories into living reality with such great effect on the future history of the world. I have read with great interest from the very first issue your wise interpretation of the rapidly changing historical events in the world, and also the splendid contributions to political and economic thought. While I may not have agreed with all the views expressed I can truthfully say that I have learned much from the valuable contributions of the many active comrades both here and elsewhere. In these days of rapid change, the British Labour movement is blessed with having at its services a journal which is rendering such magnificent services to the British working class, and I am confident that in the years which lie ahead the *Labour Monthly* will come to be regarded by vast numbers as a great force in the struggle for the

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speedy downfall of a decadent system. I trust that these few words will encourage others to become readers of your journal and that its circulation will expand by leaps and bounds.

From Alex Gossip:

(formerly General Secretary of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association and delegate to the 1904 Amsterdam International Socialist Congress and to many international congresses since. One of the oldest contributors to 'Labour Monthly', and now approaching his 90th year).

I send my greetings and good wishes to the *Labour Monthly* on its 30th anniversary.

From Arthur Horner:

So the *Labour Monthly* is 30 years of age. It has survived in spite of all difficulties in the most dynamic period of human history. It has explained great economic and political events not only in our own country but throughout the world. It has searched into the regions for remarkable happenings in the colonial countries as well as in the metropolis of empires. It has made possible an understanding of events which has enabled thousands of conscious workers to acquire a perspective which has made possible the avoidance of the weakness arising from 'lagging behind'. The writings of the Editor, R. Palme Dutt, have been of outstanding importance and of very great value. I know of no other source in the English language which can compare with his presentation of exceedingly complicated and difficult problems. It is my sincere wish that the *Labour Monthly* will continue to be published, especially in view of the war threat which hangs over humanity and the necessity for defeating the war-makers and that it shall be with us as a guide in the effort to establish peaceful reconstruction through socialism which alone can guarantee happiness and prosperity.

From Rutland Boughton:

Of all current political literature known to me the *Labour Monthly* seems the most important. It offers clear statements of irrefutable facts, and so marshals them that its conclusions are no less irrefutable. In these days the greater part of the press is devoted to the suppression and distortion of everything that exposes the corruption of capitalism; so the *Labour Monthly* is a necessity for all who would maintain a sane outlook and judgment.

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From Professor V. G. Childe

For thirty years of the prolonged death agony of bourgeois civilisation in western Europe, the *Labour Monthly* has consistently exposed the ideological distortions in which real issues are obscured in social consciousness. Every month its masterly analyses of the internal and foreign economic, industrial and political situation have uncovered the substantial trends and presented its readers with grim realities. But it has just as consistently been able to point out rational routes that from time to time might have avoided disaster. For its analyses have been constantly illumined by the positive vision of a classless and peaceable society as the logical culmination of the historical process. Today, as cosmic catastrophe looms daily nearer the stimulus of the *Labour Monthly* is still more needed.

From Academician Theodore Rothstein:

Congratulations from an old Communist closely connected in the past with the Socialist movement in Britain on the thirtieth anniversary of *Labour Monthly*, so ably and bravely in face of tremendous difficulties conducted by you and your associates. May your further indomitable efforts substantially contribute to the early and complete triumph of the cause of peace and national independence, forming as this struggle does a primary and essential part of the glorious fight for Labour's political, economic and social emancipation.

From the Editorial Board of 'Bolshevik':

The editors of the magazine *Bolshevik* warmly greet the British journal *Labour Monthly* on its thirtieth anniversary and wish it further successes in the struggle for peace, international unity of the workers and socialism.

In the August issue we shall publish messages from L'HUMANITE *(France)*, TRYBUNA LUDU *(Poland)*, RUDE PRAVO *(Czechoslovakia)*, SZABAD NEP *(Hungary)*, RABOTNICESKO DELO *(Bulgaria)*, SCANTEIA *(Rumania)*, EINHEIT *(Germany)*, TRIBUNE *(Australia)*, MASSES AND MAINSTREAM *(U.S.A.) and from D. N. Pritt, K.C. (Britain), Paul Robeson (U.S.A.), Sam Kahn (South Africa) and Howard Fast (U.S.A.).*

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AN EXPOSURE OF FALSE PHILOSOPHIES

In Defence of Philosophy. Against Positivism and Pragmatism. By Maurice Cornforth. (260 pp. Lawrence and Wishart, 12*s.* 6*d.*).

IN THE years before the war, under the impact of the progress of the U.S.S.R. and world developments confirming the correctness of Marxist views, interest began to be aroused among progressive intellectuals in the general outlook and philosophy of Marxism. They began to take notice of dialectical materialism as an important subject ignored by the schools.

At the same time, many of them who were attracted by Marxism politically were inclined to be sceptical or contemptuous of its philosophical basis because they were preoccupied with the claims of the then latest development in philosophy known as logical positivism which had special attractions for natural scientists. This school, centred in Vienna and linked with the mathematical analysis of Russell, put forward claims to rise above the battle of systems in philosophy, whether idealist or materialist, and to present a new scientific approach which did away with all 'metaphysics'. Dialectical materialism was condemned out of hand as not being in accord with this modern scientific outlook.

Since then there has been a variety of developments of this trend in philosophy, both in Europe and America, each claiming to be an improvement on its predecessor and a thorough criticism of all these tendencies has become desirable. Such a comprehensive account is now available thanks to this work of Maurice Cornforth, who in his latest book deals fully with all the allied varieties of positivist philosophy going by such names as logical positivism, logical empiricism, semantics, semiotic and pragmatism.

Anyone who has read Cornforth's earlier book on *Science and Idealism*, of which this may be regarded as a continuation, will know that he can expect a clear and factual exposition of the trends analysed, a sharp analysis that lays bare the fundamentals of the various views and a trenchant criticism that exposes the weakness of these new 'systems' and their inadequate efforts to hide the old basis of idealist philosophy on which they actually rest and the anti-scientific and anti-social conclusions to which they give rise. This criticism is not merely destructive. Cornforth calls his book *In Defence of Philosophy* precisely because he shows the necessity of a general philosophical outlook, which these authors imagine they have superseded, and point by point contrasts their views with those of dialectical materialists, to a general exposition of which, moreover, he devotes two special chapters. This involves some repetition but makes the book particularly valuable for those who are new to the subject. It is by no means easy reading, but this is largely because of the deliberately invented jargon of these philosophers, who multiply new terms to give their views an appearance of novelty and scientific analysis which conceals the poverty of its philosophical basis.

Essentially all these new trends are off-shoots from the school of Mach and empirio-criticism, which Lenin thoroughly analysed in his classical work *Materialism and Empirio-criticism.* Lenin concludes by summing up 'four standpoints from which a Marxist must proceed to form a judgment of empirio-criticisms'. These are, in effect: its theoretical foundations compared with those of dialectical materialsm, its place in relation to the other schools of philosophy, its connection

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with the views of natural scientists and its relation to the struggle of parties in philosophy.

Cornforth carries forward Lenin's exposure from all the standpoints, providing a valuable guide to these later developments of Machism that have cropped up in the forty odd years since Lenin's work. Their starting point is the attempt to reduce all philosophy to a logical analysis of language in order to get rid of the inescapable 'metaphysical' basis of positivism. But the attempt failed. Schlick, Wittgenstein, Carnap each in turn convicted his predecessors of 'metaphysics' and corrected the system only to become more deeply entangled in discredited philosophical idealism.

Cornforth devotes much space to the various fashionable new developments of 'semantics', the 'Analysis of meaning', and shows how in every field, in 'pure' philosophy, in the physical sciences and in sociology and politics, they give rise to reactionary conclusions.

A considerable chapter is devoted to pragmatism as a peculiarly American trend of positivist thought. Cornforth explains clearly that the pragmatic view of truth as depending, not on the correspondence of our ideas with the laws of the objective material world, but on their 'practical cash value'—as William James put it—leads straight to subjective idealism. But he gives the pragmatists too much credit, perhaps, in saying that pragmatism 'has thrown off much of the negativity and pessimism of European empiricism' and that its 'emendations of the traditional positivist empiricist position have, at first sight, much to recommend them' on the ground that it conceives man as an agent in practical interaction with his environment.

It may be noted that already Lenin in his work mentions pragmatism in a footnote and points out that 'the difference between Machism and pragmatism is as insignificant as the difference between empirio-criticism and empirio-monism'. From the very start pragmatism was a reactionary ideology hostile to materialism and specially concerned with justifying religion. The later developments of pragmatism fully confirm this and its flourishing in America, as Cornforth shows, is bound up with its special rôle as the characteristic philosophy of American imperialism.

In his final chapter Cornforth answers the possible charge that he has not recognised the positive features of the advance contributed by the new philosophies and sums up the general reactionary nature of these developments, which more and more tend to reflect the moral and intellectual disintegration of capitalism in decay.

In contrast to this Marxism is a living creative doctrine, the scientific world outlook of the proletariat, a mighty weapon for tackling the problems of the real world, of the

"Oh shame and double shame if we march under such leadership as this in an unjust war against a people who are *not* our enemies, against Europe, against freedom, against nature, against the hope of the world."

William Morris

wrote these words when he campaigned, in 1877, for peace with Russia, for friendship with the Bulgarian people. The full story is told in the current issue of

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development of society and human knowledge. In a discussion on philosophy in the U.S.S.R. in 1947 A. A. Zhdanov pointed out that the system makers in philosophy 'forced on living human knowledge conclusions that were dictated, not by real life, but by the needs of their particular systems. This philosophy was useless as an instrument of practical influence on the world, as a means whereby the world could be known'. This applies with full force to all the logical positivists and semantic obscurantists.

C.P.D.

A SURVEY OF THE 19TH CENTURY

England in the Nineteenth Century. David Thomson. (251 pp., Pelican Books, 1*s.* 6*d.*)

THE writing of popular history has many pitfalls, and Mr. Thomson, in this volume in the Penguin History series, has fallen into most of them. The authorship of any history for the general reader demands a close and intimate knowledge of the period concerned, an obvious point which would not have needed saying but for the impression from this book that Mr. Thomson has a very imperfect acquaintance with the 19th century in England. Mr. Thomson is a Liberal. For him the 19th century must be understood as the decent and relatively painless realisation of the liberal-socialist idea. The fact that the ordinary people had to fight and struggle for elementary political and industrial rights finds no place in his account. But it is not only or even mainly because of the facile philosophy that lies so obviously upon the writing that this book must be dismissed as a shoddy piece of work, but for the many errors of fact and the multitude of mis-statements.

Here is a selection of the factual mistakes. It was the 1851 not the 1831 Census that showed Britain half-rural, half-urban (p. 11) and Mr. Thomson, in a slipshod way, speaks of the country being half-agricultural, half-industrial, which is by no means the same thing; the 1802 Factory Act applied only to pauper apprentices and not to child labour in general, and the 1833 Act was not Shaftesbury's but Althorp's (p. 47); Chadwick, through his committee of doctors, first investigated the insanitary conditions in East London in 1838 not 1842 (p. 134); to write that the death rate fell between 1851 and 1871 conceals the fact that the death rate was higher in the '60s than it had been for most of the '50s (p. 137); elementary school fees were not all abolished in 1891 (p. 135) for there were still over 600,000 paying fees in 1902 and completely free education did not come until 1918; the scale of old age pensions in 1909 was not 5s. per week, but a graduated rate of 1s. to 5s. according to income below £31 a year (p. 200). Much more serious than these elementary mistakes is Mr. Thomson's misrepresentation of certain of the crucial movements and trends of the century: thus, to say that the 1867 Reform Bill was 'directly the result of the competitive party system' is to make nonsense of the history of the '60s and to ignore the central part which the working men played in their own enfranchisement; to suggest that 'Trade unionism, so far as its internal structure was concerned, had almost to begin again in the '50s' is completely to underestimate the influence of the movement in the first half of the century; to write 'The worst phase of sweating and of severe hardship was over before 1850' eliminates the evidence, to mention only two examples, of the Children's Employment Commission of the '60s and Booth's investigations of the last decades. Marx and Engels, of course, had no influence upon the English labour movement, the economic basis of imperialism is dismissed in a sen-

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tence and the very special position of India in the British economy is not mentioned; the treatment of the Irish question is fatuous.

Mr. Thomson purports to describe the 'major social changes' between 1815 and 1914. In any treatment of this period there are certain secondary authorities which are indispensable. The Webb's *History of Trade Unionism,* Driver's biography of Oastler, Gillespie's *Labour and Politics* and Maccoby's two volumes on Radicalism, to note but four examples, are all familiar to students of this century. None of these appear in the bibliography. In the short biographical notice printed at the back of this book, Mr. Thomson says he enjoys 'above all writing'. He would be well advised to curb his enthusiasm.

JOHN SAVILLE.

A SURVEY OF THE 18TH CENTURY

England in the Eighteenth Century. J. H. Plumb. (224 pp., Pelican Books, 1*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS book, the seventh volume in the Pelican History of England, is an introductory study of a century (1714-1815) that saw the birth of industrial capitalism and the Labour movement.

Dr. Plumb divides his book into three parts—the Age of Walpole, the Age of Chatham and the Age of Pitt —and this division corresponds to three fairly definable stages in the evolution of English capitalism in the Eighteenth Century. The first period (1714-1742) was one of stable government, consolidating the revolutionary gains of the Seventeenth Century and providing a political framework for the expansion of trade and the accumulation of capital. The second period (1742-1784) was one in which sections of the ruling class (particularly those concerned with markets in India, America and the West Indies) tried

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to impose a more aggressive foreign policy on the Government, came into conflict with the autocratic tendencies of George III (after 1760) and opposed his attempt to coerce the North American colonists. Around this group there gathered, from time to time, the first expressions of a growing popular revolt (Wilkes) which drew much of its impetus from the discontent of growing numbers concentrated, for the first time, into large towns and subjected to the miseries of fluctuating trade and rising prices. During the third period (1784-1815), the Whig opposition to George III, terrified by the French Revolution and the response to the writings of Tom Paine, deserted the cause of reform (except, notably, for Charles James Fox and his supporters) and turned to a policy of blind and brutal repression. The political changes made necessary by the industrial revolution were postponed until after Napoleon's defeat in 1815.

Dr. Plumb treats each of these periods realistically, beginning, in each case, with an account of the state of agriculture, industry and social relations. His selection of material is admirable and he does not omit to tell us how much exploitation, hunger and squalor lay beneath the industrial, scientific and cultural achievements of the century. He fails, however, to show the connection *between* each period and its successor, and fails to show how each stage grew out of the very conditions generated and problems solved by its predecessor. Some of his judgments are eccentric; to write that before Adam Smith, political economy 'had been little better than ill-substantiated special pleading' seems hard on Petty and the Physiocrats. Nevertheless, the book will serve as a valuable introduction, pending the appearance of the first Marxist study in Britain.

HENRY COLLINS.

A DUTCHMAN'S NOTION OF HISTORY

History, Its Purpose and Method, by G. J. Renier, Professor of Dutch History and Institutions in the University of London. (272 pp. Allen and Unwin. 16*s*.)

'HISTORY fulfills a social need, and . . . this is its essential function', suggests Dr. Renier in a promising opening paragraph. But unfortunately, all is not well that begins well. The need of society for light on some of its problems, for example on that most urgent of all problems: which are the main causes of crises and wars, and how might they be eliminated receives from Dr. Renier an evasive answer. It boils down to this: history is not a science; for 'there can be no scientific knowledge without experiments, or at any rate without predictions', whereas 'there can be no historical knowledge dependent upon experiments'. The historian should confine himself to the 'telling of the story'. 'As soon as he tries to use his knowledge for any other purpose . . . he ceases to be an historian'; he becomes a philosopher (and Dr. Renier's exposure of the fallacies in the reasoning of those who, like Croce and Collingwood, indiscriminately mix history with philosophic idealism, is witty and to the point). Or he turns into a sociologist; or even into one of those terrible 'totalitarians' who maintain that Marx has provided them with the

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foundations of a *science of society*, including history. And who, one might point out, continually testing and elaborating its laws in practice, 'experimenting' on the basis of them, have managed to raise considerably and within a very short space of time the entire material and cultural level of a large part of the human race.

But Dr. Renier is not interested in such trifles. He is primarily concerned with the 'freedom' of the 'independent' historian to 'exercise' his own right to formulate the laws of history—strictly and solely for methodological purposes, mind you!; exemplified by such inventions of his own as: 'momentum . . . a diabolical tempter of the good'; 'revolution . . . a psycho-pathological phenomenon'. Or by his pronouncement that all revolutionaries can 'invariably' be reduced to a 'morbid type', calling some of the more outstanding amongst them amusing Freudian names like: 'Cromwell . . . a depressive maniac, Robespierre an obsessional narcissist, Danton an exhibitionist with an anal complex', and so on.

Now no 'extreme Marxist' would deny him or anybody else suchlike diversions, let alone punish them with the concentration camp—despite Dr. Renier's repeated assertions to the contrary (writing as a private person, surely, not as an historian?!). But he would indeed doubt their value as serious contributions to the study of history; which does not, of course, imply that no such contributions whatever can be found in this lively and provocative book.

NELL CLEGG.

J. V. STALIN

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CRITIQUE OF THE KEYNESIAN THEORY

Marx Against Keynes. A Reply to Mr. Morrison's 'Socialism'. John Eaton. (142 pp. Lawrence and Wishart. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

A MARXIST critique of the Keynesian theory was long overdue. For Keynesianism has become not only the fashionable academic theory, a jargon and an ideology widely used for the justification of official policies on both sides of the Atlantic, but also the predominant economic doctrine of Right-wing Labour. Eaton rightly stresses this class aspect of the fight against Keynesian ideas. It is part of the fight against Reformism for the victory of Socialist ideas in the Labour movement. Certainly, the reformist leaders had not to wait for Keynes' *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, published in 1936, to adopt the doctrine that capitalism, controlled by the State, could run smoothly without slumps and mass unemployment; that—combined with some social services—was all that their 'Socialism' demanded. This doctrine of 'organised capitalism' was already implied in the Fabian and Bernsteinian doctrines spreading since the end of the 19th century, which were revived in the twenties when the German Social Democrat Hilferding preached the blessings of 'organised capitalism' just on the eve of the worst crisis capitalism has suffered so far.

It is the merit of Keynes—from the point of view of the apologists of capitalism—that he came out with his theory just when the crisis

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and the depression of the thirties had shattered the self-confidence of the capitalist class and when the authority of 'bourgeois' economic doctrines based on the faith in the self-equilibrating powers of 'free enterprise' had reached its lowest point. Keynes' 'revolution' in economic thought starts from the astonishing discovery that there is no mechanism in capitalist economy which would automatically lead to full employment. After a decade in which unemployment in Britain never fell under one million, in British universities still the 'classical' (classics of the type of Marshall and Pigou) dogma was taught that there can be no 'involuntary unemployment'. If workers are unemployed, they are so 'voluntarily'. If they were prepared to accept lower wages, they would be employed. Keynes found another cause of unemployment in insufficient demand. His 'general theory' aims at deriving the level of 'aggregate demand' from such psychological determinants as the 'propensity to consume', 'liquidity preference', 'the marginal efficiency of capital' (i.e., profit expectations).

Eaton proves that this theory is 'vulgar economy', not essentially different from the traditional capitalist theory which ignores the basic contradictions of capitalism, denies the fact of exploitation and replaces the objective concepts of material reality by the absurd fragments of the subjective marginal theory of value. Eaton also shows that Keynesian remedies, based on his false analysis—redistribution of incomes by taxation, inflationary measures to reduce the rate of interest and state control of private investment plus public investments—will not make the capitalist system immune against slumps and unemployment. He points out that the illusion of full employment in Britain, thanks to Keynesian methods of 'planning', is due to the short post-war boom followed by the

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rearmament drive. Keynes' advice that deficiency of demand can be overcome by increased investment without increased consumption—an absurdity in a normal economy—finds practical application only in a war economy. This is an aspect of Keynesianism which would deserve further elaboration.

Keynes was not so much concerned with a theory of periodical crises as with the long-term trend of capitalist development. He felt that the contradictions were growing, his theory implies that growing wealth would cause growing unemployment if not countered by state-sponsored measures. Eaton's description of Keynesianism as 'vulgar economy of monopoly capitalism in crisis and decay' is fully justified (p. 85). His advocacy of state interference—the essential difference of this modern type of 'Liberalism' from the old laissez-faire Manchester-Liberalism—reflects the development of capitalism in crisis towards state monopoly capitalism. Eaton points out that Labour ideologists replace polemics against capitalism by polemics against a laissez-faire (free enterprise) economy and so find common ground with the ideologist of present day state monopoly capitalism.

What Keynes calls his 'social philosophy' is a dream of a stable and stagnant economic system with an equilibrium which must not be disturbed by technical and social progress. This reactionary utopia is the best solution which this Liberal economist can find to the problem of unemployment. This should be contrasted with the practical solutions of Marxism-Leninism, of living Socialism in the U.S.S.R.: full employment with a rapid, steady growth of the industrial population, unprecedented progress of productivity and a corresponding improvement in living standards.

J.W.

CORRECTION: On page 288 of June issue, for '330,000' read '33,000'.

A COLD WAR SYBIL

Policy for the West. Barbara Ward. (253 pp. Penguin Books, 1*s.* 6*d.*)

CHAPTER One sets the pace under the title 'The fact of Soviet hostility'. On page 12, it refers, without comment or qualification, to the 'Soviet onslaught on . . . South Korea'. On page 14 it 'proves' that it is impossible to find a *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Union as follows:

> Perhaps a more conclusive proof of the Soviets' major responsibility for the present division of the world lies in the fate of those who have staked everything on securing Russian co-operation and have been prepared to go to any lengths to secure it.

And who are some of these people who have 'staked everything'? Believe it or not, they are the publicly tried and convicted traitors such as Rajk and Kostov. No evidence of Soviet forces being used or threatened against other peoples (but nevertheless the bald reference to the Soviet onslaught in Korea where in fact not a single Soviet unit has been engaged), no evidence of violation of international obligations (just absurd deductions from criminal convictions in Hungary, Bulgaria, etc.) and then the assertion (p. 20) that 'if we accept—as we must—the fact of Soviet hostility and Soviet pressure, our first need if we are to contain them effectively, is to be sufficiently armed ourselves'.

On their putrid basis of misrepresentation the case is built up for the militarisation of the whole capitalist world under American leadership. There follows a prolonged plea for a regeneration of the capitalist world in order to confront Communism with strength and stability. Miss Ward admits failures but asserts that with the help of the theories of Lord Keynes and 'the necessary vision and will' (p. 253) all difficulties can be overcome. Miss Ward reproduces all the smooth arguments for the policies of capitulation to the magnates of American finance. J.E.

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ABOUT YOURSELVES

BETWEEN January and May, readers sent in no less than 674 names of people to whom specimen copies should be sent. Some took out subscriptions directly through us; add those who put regular orders with newsagents (sales through whom have increased by 15 per cent); other orders went through factory and trade union literature sellers, etc., which we cannot estimate. But some rough ideas can be gained. Our average monthly paid sales in the first quarter of 1950 were 13,834; in this year 15,163. But the (incomplete) figures during the second quarter are already close on 15,900, a 15 per cent rise. (Only 12 years ago it was under 7,000.) This very solid achievement was made when publishers had been very busy 'viewing with alarm'; steeply rising costs, due mostly to rearmament stockpiling, have led to almost all periodicals putting up their prices, usually around 50 per cent. As a trade paper put it, lamenting the effects of the higher prices, 'periodicals are catching a terrific cold in the way of lost sales' and remarks that clearly 'there is a limit to the amount which the public can afford to spend on reading matter in these hard times'.

We have no highly salaried Circulation Manager; our own readers do the work. If our hundreds of self-appointed 'Circulation Managers' between them could just double the present rate of increased circulation, we could banish the fear of a price rise to the indefinite future. Sales overseas have risen steeply, but not quite so fast in Britain. International solidarity is well illustrated in this number. So if any of your friends have been holding forth about international affairs, quietly hand him your July number and tell him he must order his own in future. A London member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union found our 'recent articles on rearmament just what is needed': when you feel like that about any article, copy our friend in New Zealand who lends out his to 'friends in need'. Sometimes I suspect readers fear the retort: 'So that's where you get all your arguments!' They want to be thought all-knowing. It's when the other fellow finds how to become all-knowing too that knowledge suddenly becomes mass action.

FIRST BIRTHDAY PRESENT

We are having a great struggle to go on producing at 1s. The gap hitherto has been bridged, thanks to the enthusiasm of readers, who in the first quarter of 1951 averaged in donations £47 monthly as against £37 last year; but we now need quite £70, so more people must help. First reactions to my warning that the text paper alone had risen by 80% came from an interesting variety of people. Here is £5 from 'English Director', a supporter from the earliest days: 'Personally I should buy the L.M. whatever its price; but for the next few months I'm making this small contribution to help to stave off a rise for the benefit of those to whom even an extra 3d. would mean a serious sacrifice'. Is there another businessman in the house?

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There is. 'Irish Director' remarks that each month he had meant to send a donation: 'now I am commuting some of those spasms of good intentions with the enclosed cheque for £5'. Over £3 from a retired civil servant who thinks 'it would be a good idea to pay up my monthly guarantee for a year in advance'. And a 'Portuguese Friend' surmounts extraordinary difficulties to have 'the great pleasure to aid our magazine and so I offer a little sum of £3'. There aren't so many people like these about! That's a good reason for specially valuing this prompt response from a member of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers—plenty of *them!*—who sends '10s. towards the fund to help keep the L.M. going, as cost of production must be high. I'm glad to know sales are increasing, as it is priceless'. No one could put it better than that. It is because of this attitude, reflected again in the action of 14 engineers in an Essex factory who hold a monthly L.M. discussion group, that keeps us so cheerful. Besides, as I write we have just received our first Birthday present. 'Socialist Sailor' doubles his usual guarantee, with reminiscences of our 1941 Birthday Party—we can't afford it today—which was 'one of my first real glimpses of the world we are going to have everywhere, and which has developed with such extraordinary speed in these last ten years'. We are privately hoping for a great many Birthday presents; after all, thirty years is a whole generation, and L.M. is a closer friend than many a blood relative. Moreover, the May fund falls short of the £70 needed now, and hasn't made amends for the exceptionally low April total, being

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Altogether taken I think we must look upon this affair as an incident of the Revolution, and so far encouraging: the shop wrecking was partly a protestive practical joke (quite in the English manner) at the expense of the upper classes. At any rate 'tis a glimpse for them of the bed-rock of our present society, & I hope they like it. Yesterday they were gibbering with terror in spite of the sham calm heroics of the newspapers. I shall say frankly what I think about the affair in the next C. must in fact.

Yours fraternally
William Morris

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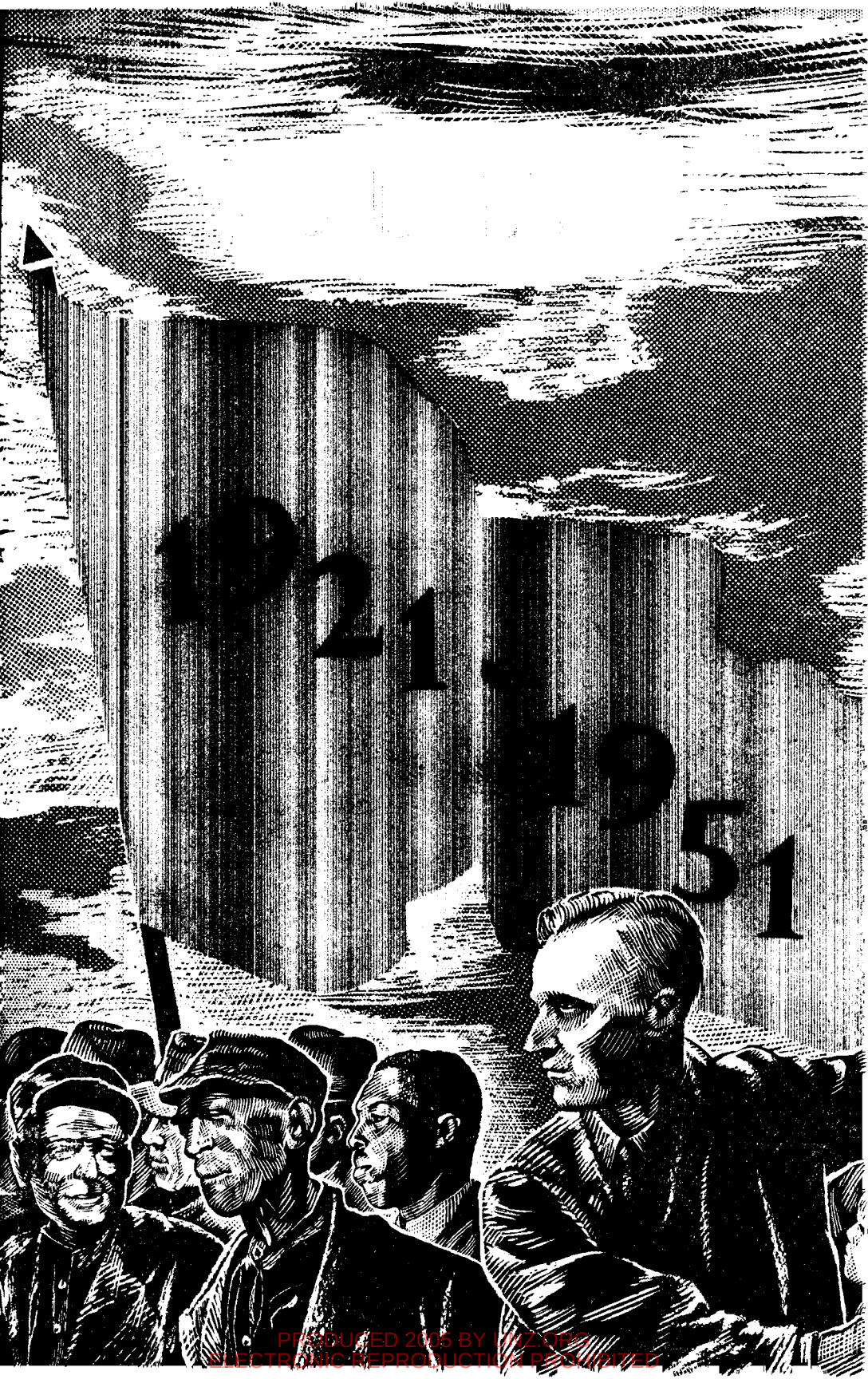

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